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OCTOBER 2004

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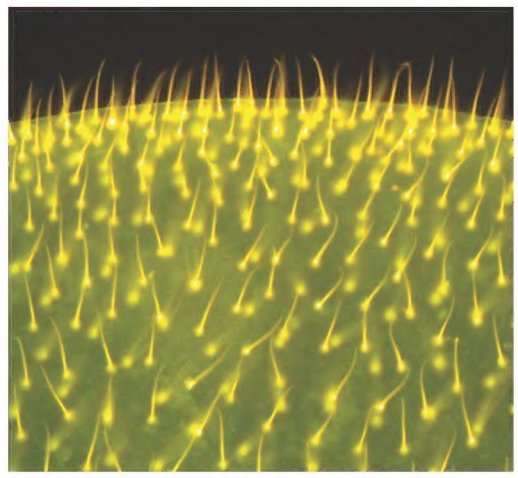
OCTOBER 2004 VOLUME 35, NUMBER 7

FEATURES

"THE MEN OF THE Lost Battalion were so low on food and ammunition that they risked sniper fire to scavenge rations and cartridges from the fallen bodies of their dead. Using their own blood for ink, they wrote farewell messages on scraps of bandages."
—"ULTIMATE SACRIFICE," PAGE 72

72 Ivy Leaguer, professional ballplayer, World War I hero: Eddie Grant was one of a kind.



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Using fluorescent markers and other special techniques, creatively inclined microscopists turn what they view into astonishing works of art
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96 ADIRONDACKS STYLE
Since its creation in 1892, New York's vast wilderness park has provided a rustic retreat for everyone from Gilded Age industrialists to ordinary vacationers
BY JONATHAN KANDELL / PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERICA FREUDENSTEIN

ON THE COVER The beauty of New York's Adirondack Park has long attracted artists.
PHOTOGRAPH BY NATHANFARB.COM FROM ADIRONDACK WILDERNESS, *RIZZOLI (NEW YORK) 2004*

66 The tiny Channel Islands fox has "not a foe to prey upon him," wrote a biologist in the 1920s when the animal still thrived. Sadly, that is no longer the case for the endangered mammal.

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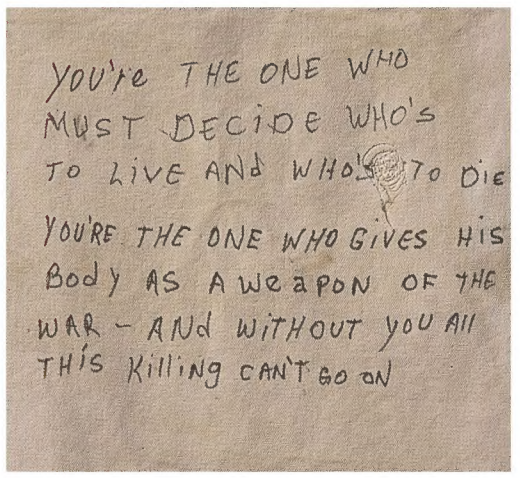
DEPARTMENTS

"AT THE CAFÉ DE FOY someone said that the king had taken a mistress. If so, then there could be some big changes. Another replied, 'I don't think the king has any inclination in that direction, because he has always been kept away from women.'"

—"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO SING," PAGE 110

23 Photographer Roger Fenton's darkroom-on-wheels was a prime target for the Russians.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TO LIVE AND WHO'S TO DIE
YOU'RE THE ONE WHO GIVES HIS
BODY AS A WEAPON OF THE
WAR - AND WITHOUT YOU ALL
THIS KILLING CAN'T GO ON

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110 A ditty spread the gossip that Louis XV's mistress, Mme. Pompadour, gave him VD.

45 Entomologist Gary Hevel found his own backyard to be a cornucopia of insects.

23 INDELIBLE IMAGES WHEN THE SHOOTING STARTED

Roger Fenton was the first photojournalist to cover a war—the Crimean, in 1855 *BY VICKI GOLDBERG*

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Archaeologists in Virginia find traces of a long-vanished, and architecturally significant, courthouse designed by Thomas Jefferson *BY CLAY RISEN*

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When a local store's closing threatened to destroy their downtown, residents of Powell, Wyoming, formed their own cooperative *BY MICHELLE NIJHUIS*

40 THE OBJECT AT HAND KILROY WAS HERE

Scribblings and other marks on the undersides of a troopship's bunks record the musings of soldiers on their way to Vietnam *BY OWEN EDWARDS*

110 PRESENCE OF MIND ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO SING

Long before the advent of electronic mass media, citizens of 18th-century Paris were able to stay au courant *BY ROBERT DARNTON*

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www.pan-amsterdam.nl

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Genoa, Italy
www.genova-2004.it

January 6
THREE KINGS DAY
Madrid, Spain
www.idealspain.com

January 7 - 23
SAINT BART'S MUSIC FESTIVAL
St. Barthelemy, French West Indies
www.stbartsmusicfestival.org

February 4 - 6
COCHISE COWBOY POETRY AND MUSIC GATHERING
Sierra Vista, Arizona, USA
www.cowboypoetry.com

February 10 - 13
VILNIUS BOOK FAIR
Vilnius, Lithuania
www.litexpo.lt/en

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March 11 - 15
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New Digs

Introducing a new department and the editor who runs it ~ BY CAREY WINFREY

THIS MONTH we debut a new department. The subject of the new department "Digs" is archaeology, which readers tell us they can't get enough of. Our first "Digs" concerns the excavation of a courthouse that Thomas Jefferson designed from 1821 to 1822 ("Foundation Father," p. 27), some 12 years after he left the presidency. The courthouse burned to the ground in 1869. Andrew Curry, who is the editor of "Digs," says that unlike Monticello and the University of Virginia—imposing monuments to Jefferson's architectural genius—the classically elegant but otherwise modest courthouse in Buckingham, Virginia, was "a good example of Jefferson's desire to expose the small-town farmers and merchants whom he saw as the bedrock of democracy to good civic architecture."

Curry (and Jefferson's courthouse): Getting at deeper truths.

In addition to editing "Digs," Curry, who joined SMITHSONIAN last February as general editor, will commission feature stories and report and write others. To wit, he co-authored our feature in this issue about endangered island foxes off the California coast ("Fighting for Foxes," p. 66). The story documents a dramatic example, he says, of "how one little thing in a seemingly unrelated chain of events can result in the extinction of a species."

Curry, 27, received a bachelor's degree in Foreign Service from Georgetown University in 1998 before heading to Florida for a copy-editing stint at the *Miami Herald*. After getting a master's degree in Russian and East European Studies from Stanford University, he returned to Washington. Planning on a diplomatic career, he was in the act of taking the Foreign Service exam (he passed) when he decided that "being a journalist gave me more freedom to express my own opinions and pursue my own interests."

He comes to us after three and a half years at *U.S. News & World Report*, where he wrote cover stories about the Civil War, work in America and the history of flight, among other subjects. His 2002 cover story about the Crusades was the year's bestselling regular issue. While at the newsweekly, the longtime history buff got hooked on archaeology when he covered a story about the Holy Land. "It's a tangible way to look at how people lived in the past," he says, "getting at a truth deeper than, or at least different from, what written accounts usually offer."

Smithsonian PHOTO CONTEST

Last month we published the rules for our second annual photo contest, which will accept both digital and mail submissions until midnight December 31, 2004. Rules for this year's contest can be found at www.photocontest.smithsonianmagazine.com.

BRIAN NOYES; BRIAN BATES

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"Shell Hydrogen" refers to a global business of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group and consists of separate companies set up to pursue and develop business opportunities related to hydrogen and fuel cells.

Turrets and Towers

The fanciful design of the Smithsonian Castle—150 years old in December—bucked the neo-Classical trend of Washington's other monumental buildings

THE CORNERSTONE of the Smithsonian Castle was laid in 1847. It's the oldest of the monumental buildings on the National Mall, and familiarity hasn't dimmed its original visual power. In the 1840s, the heritage of earlier great buildings in the capital (the Treasury Building, Patent Office, Post Office) was neo-Classical, linking the nation's democratic character to democracy's ancient beginnings. But James Renwick, the architect who won the Smithsonian commission when he was not yet 30 years old (and who subsequently designed St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City) used a medieval revival style—turrets and towers in place of colonnades—to link the Institution instead to a tradition of learning and universities. The Smithsonian was to have the mind's own boundless independence.

At the start, the Castle held the entire Smithsonian. More than a century and a half later, it still identifies the Institution to the world. That's only fitting, because the various identities assumed by one or another area of Renwick's building blossomed over the years into the profusion of individual Smithsonian museums. Recall that in the earliest debates about what the Smithsonian should be, the alternatives included a scientific research institute, an astronomical observatory, a library, a museum, an art gallery and even a teachers college. The ruddy sandstone exterior of the Castle looks today much as it did in 1854, when the building was officially completed. But the interior has known hardly a moment's peace in 150 years. As the Smithsonian grew and its mission evolved, the space underwent continual reconfiguration. Walls, floors, ceilings and balconies, not to mention carpets, colors and furnishings, came and went and came again. (The changes are vividly portrayed in *The Castle: An Illustrated History of the Smithsonian Building* by Cynthia R. Field, Richard E. Stamm and Heather P. Ewing, published by Smithsonian Books.)

In fact, the building was altered even before it existed: Renwick conceived the central portion with three stories, but one of those floors was lost to preconstruction cost cutting. The great hall on the first floor (now a visitors' center) was originally intended to be a library and a lecture hall. By the time the building opened, it had become a space for displaying natural history specimens; many years later, parts of it would take a turn as a library and a site for graphic arts exhibits. A great hall directly above the lower hall was first meant to be exhibition space. When the building opened, it held instead a lecture hall seating 1,500 to 2,000 people, a scientific apparatus room and an art gallery. But that configuration did not survive a disastrous fire in 1865. When the second floor was rebuilt, it belatedly became, and for more than 40 years remained, exhibition space. The upper hall was eventually compromised into two levels of offices. If you stand on the Mall and face the building, you can see that in the central portion to the left and right of the entrance, Renwick designed the upper windows to light a single story of generous height. Still grand on the exterior, the windows have been divided within by the insertion of a new floor.

The Castle—a design linked to learning.

The approaching 150th anniversary of the Castle's completion—in December—is, in a sense, nothing of the sort because the building has never really been completed. It's been in a state of perpetual becoming, like the Smithsonian itself. The historic interior and exterior need tending once again, to modernize utility systems and shore up walls and roofs. But the building will stay anchored to its 19th-century origins, and to traditions older still. In photographs from the 1850s, the fanciful new Castle sprawls in isolation on its stretch of barren national ground. Before the surrounding trees grew tall, an observer could take its measure from almost any angle, and from as far away as downtown Washington. In time, the Castle would share the location with other museums, but seen from the right perspective, even in their company, it still stands alone.

Lawrence M. Small
SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

JEFF TINSLEY / SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION (2)

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LETTERS

Readers respond to the August issue:

WARMING DEBATE

"WILL TUVALU Disappear Beneath the Sea?" is an insult to your readers' intelligence. The writer assumes that global warming is a fact. There are qualified climatologists who question if global warming is occurring, whether it's man-made if it is, and the reliability of forecasts produced by questionable computer models.

W. R. MENDES
CENTENNIAL, COLORADO

THANKS FOR a fair and balanced article. The residents of Tuvalu should move and stop throwing blame at the United States and Australia.

GENE ODATO
LANDISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

SIMPLY PUT, why are we even having this discussion? How can anyone drive a fossil-fuel-burning SUV with a clear conscience? I think everyone in the developed world should feel culpable.

LINDA M. LEE
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

PEOPLE ALL OVER the world have had to make adjustments to changes in climate, soil or water conditions. Ask any archaeologist. Continents have come and gone, and many more natural changes on earth will be forthcoming. Our world is in a perpetual state of motion. The approach that Tuvaluans are purportedly taking to get people to pay for their plight is wrong.

DENISE LEONARD
BRINNON, WASHINGTON

PRISON PUPPIES

AFTER READING so many articles about bad things happening in prisons, I was truly touched by "New Leash on Life," about the program that has inmates raising puppies for the blind. To learn how these inmates give back to society is uplifting. They deserve a "job well done" for finding the strength to

give so generously of themselves.

BRENDA SMITH
SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

AS AN INMATE in a state prison system, I found your article quite inspiring. Most prison administrators—as well as society—believe prisoners should endure years of sitting in a barren cell, and be made as miserable as possible. But this approach only creates more bitterness, anger and animosity, and certainly doesn't release a better person. The puppy raisers obviously receive positive rewards and great personal satisfaction, not to mention a sense of self-worth. Given a chance to change, most inmates would take advantage of the opportunity.

JERRY HOLT
TENNESSEE COLONY, TEXAS

RUNNING ARGUMENT

DAVID BURNETT'S photo of Mary Decker was spot on ("Fallen Star"). However, I take issue with the article's tone toward Decker herself. I saw that race, and the many replays after. When she stepped on Zola Budd's foot, she was not trying to break from the pack, or to move up. She was clearly trying to crowd and intimidate Budd. "American sweetheart"? Baloney! Decker deserved to lose that race.

CLARK PETERS
NORTH EAST, PENNSYLVANIA

PAPER CHASE

I ENTERED THE workforce when copiers were not as accessible as they would later become ("Making Copies"). They were operated by clerks who made sure the document copied was company business. One day a clerk was having trouble getting legible copies from a 3M Thermofax. After several tries, she asked, "Do you want these to read or to file?" The question has stuck with me and makes me wonder how much of what we copy is really necessary.

ANDY OBERTA
AUSTIN, TEXAS

TELL SOME MORE

"IN SEARCH OF William Tell" made no mention of perhaps the only U.S. community named after the legendary archer. Tell City, Indiana (pop. 8,000), was founded in 1858 by a group of Swiss and German immigrants. Today, Tell City features a replica of the statue of William Tell and his son in Altdorf, Switzerland. Its high-school teams are nicknamed the Marksmen.

RICHARD G. BIEVER
AVON, INDIANA

FOOD FLIGHTS

DURING WORLD WAR II we saw lots of strange flying objects in Stratford, Connecticut, with both Vought Aircraft Industries and Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation using the airport. The strangest we called the Flying Oyster. We never knew what it was until reading "It's a Bird! It's A Plane! It's a . . . Flying Pancake?"

SUE SCHROEDER
BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA

Please send letters to LettersEd@simag.si.edu or to **Letters, Smithsonian, MRC 951, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C. 20013.** Include a telephone number and address. Letters may be edited for clarity or space. Because of the high volume of mail we receive, we cannot respond to all letters. Send queries about the Smithsonian Institution to info@si.edu or to VIARC, Public Inquiry Mail Service, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C. 20013.

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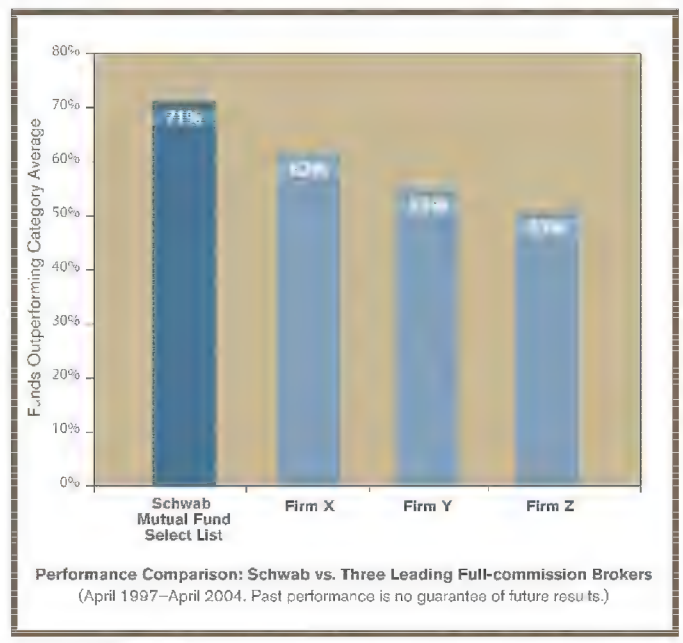

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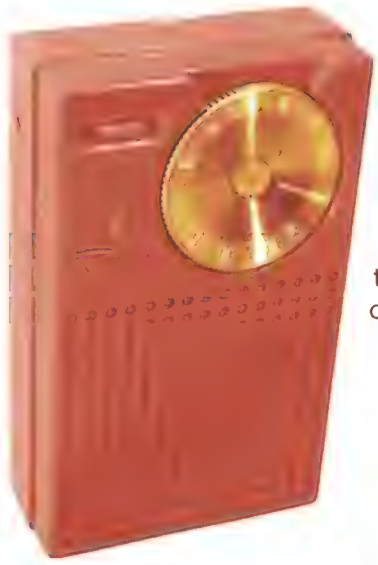
THIS MONTH IN HISTORY

OCTOBER ANNIVERSARIES—MOMENTOUS OR MERELY MEMORABLE

70 YEARS AGO: CHINESE TREKKERS
Carrying tools and office supplies as well as guns, 100,000 Communists flee southeast China and the Nationalist army in October 1934. Their arduous "Long March" winds 6,000 miles to Shaanxi in the north; just 8,000 survivors, led by Mao Tse-tung, reach its end a year later. The feat proves inspirational, and in 1949 Mao and a revived Communist Party take control of China.



50 YEARS AGO: MINI MUSIC
The first mass-produced transistor radio, the American-made Regency TR1, goes on sale October 18, 1954. A less costly method of making transistors means the tiny devices can replace hot, fragile vacuum tubes for the first time in a retail product. It's a sellout—100,000 of the five-inch radios go for $49.95 each.

150 YEARS AGO: LADY OF THE LAMP
British nurse Florence Nightingale, 34, embarks for a military hospital in Crimean War-torn Scutari (now Üsküdar), Turkey. In her two years there, Nightingale sees more patients die from disease than wounds; her experience spurs a lifelong crusade for nursing reform through formal training, and for improved sanitary conditions in hospitals. She dies in 1910.

60 YEARS AGO: ROLE MODELED
After two months of talks, delegates from China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States agree in October 1944 on a framework for a new global organization: the United Nations. Central to the discussions, held at Washington, D.C.'s Dumbarton Oaks, is the U.N.'s role as keeper of world peace and security; that function remains a matter of heated debate today.

75 YEARS AGO: BLACK DAYS
Falling prices and rising trade numbers fray nerves at the New York Stock Exchange on "Black Thursday," October 24, 1929, but five days later panic gives way to depression. "Black Tuesday," October 29, brings a complete collapse of the market that sends the country into a 12-year economic tailspin. It will take yet another epic catastrophe—World War II—to bring prosperity.

125 YEARS AGO: ALIGHT!
It isn't the first light bulb ever made, but when Thomas Edison's incandescent orb glows for 14 1/2 hours October 22, 1879, the inventor scores a breakthrough—the first practical, long-burning electric light. In 1882 the Edison Electric Light Company begins lighting New York City. Now called General Electric, the company still makes light bulbs—6,000 different kinds. ✪

—ALISON MCLEAN

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When the Shooting Started

A century and a half ago, Britain's Roger Fenton pioneered the art of war photography ~ BY VICKI GOLDBERG

THE CRIMEAN WAR, when British, French and Turkish troops united to invade the Crimea in 1854 and take the naval base at Sevastopol from the Russians, was in many ways the first modern war. The telegraph and railroad both played vital roles, Florence Nightingale introduced efficient field nursing, and for the first time newspaper reporters and photographers covered the conflict. It was the first "armchair war," which a distant public could experience as a kind of spectacle.

The Russians were eventually driven from the Crimean Peninsula (in present-day Ukraine), and more than half a mil-

Of the 350 or so photographs Fenton made of Crimean war scenes, the best known is *Valley of the Shadow of Death* (top left). Others (clockwise) show a merchant seaman and his ride; the cattle wharf in Balaklava; and British general Sir George Brown (in chair) and staff.

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His horse-drawn wagon was a prime target for the Russians.

lion people would be killed in a war that a historian in 1954 called the "most futile . . . ever fought, and the most fantastically mismanaged." The war's leading correspondent was William Howard Russell. His scathing accounts in *The* (London) *Times* of the grim conditions endured by British troops in the winter of 1854-55 because of appalling mismanagement—seven-eighths of the deaths were from cholera or overexposure, only one in eight from wounds—precipitated Prime Minister George Hamilton Gordon's resignation.

Roger Fenton, a 36-year-old London lawyer and moderately successful painter, had been taking photographs for little more than three years when he sailed for the Crimea in February 1855. He was financed by Thomas Agnew, a Manchester print dealer and publisher, who hoped to profit from sales of the pictures, and also by Britain's secretary of state for war, Henry Pelham-Clinton, who had reason to show the conflict in a better light. Previously, members of the militaries on both sides had taken pictures—Leo Tolstoy, then in the Russian Army, reportedly took photographs—but Fenton was the first war photojournalist with a commercial assignment.

By the time Fenton reached the Crimea, in March, conditions were somewhat better; new supplies, Nightingale and her cadre of nurses, and spring had all arrived. Still, he saw terrible sights: wounded and dead men; half-buried skeletons; the harbor and encampments littered with rotting animal carcasses. He never photographed any of it. Victorian taste might have been offended, Victorian purchasers unwilling to buy.

Instead, Fenton made pictures of officers, ships in the harbor, men in camp, views of Sevastopol and the plain of Balaklava. Fenton was under fire many times. His horse-drawn, enclosed wagon, which held his darkroom, was a prime target for the Russians; once, its roof was blasted off.

But he never took a picture of a battle—he couldn't. The time needed to expose film was too long to register action. The closest he came was the exceptional *Valley of the Shadow of Death*, in which cannonballs scattered across a road represent carnage. That, and his picture of a cemetery called Cathcart's Hill, are the first known photographs of war's toll.

In June, Fenton returned home, sick with cholera but recovering. Victoria and Albert were so impressed by his pictures (360 in all) that they carried some with them when they visited Napoleon III, who then summoned Fenton and Agnew to Paris. The pictures were also displayed in London and elsewhere. "An exhibition of deeper interest was never opened to the public," one reviewer wrote, adding: "The stern reality stands revealed to the spectator. . . . [A]fter viewing with deep emotion the silent gloom which overshadows the 'Valley of the Shadow of Death,' the eye rests with yet deeper feelings on the tombs on Cathcart's Hill." Although there had been drawings and written descriptions of people and battles in the Crimea, almost no one in Britain had seen photographs of the officers before, and none had seen photographs of military life. Then, too, drawings were unreliable; Fenton wrote Agnew that one artist's sketches in the newspaper "seem to astonish everyone from their total want of likeness to the reality."

Fenton (in the Crimea, 1855).

It's not clear how Fenton's pictures influenced people's views of the war. And because they were expensive (a portfolio of 160 photographs cost about 60 pounds, or the equivalent of $5,500 today), few were sold. Agnew lost money, as Mathew Brady would ten years later when he tried to sell photographs after the American Civil War.

Fenton took photographs for barely 11 years. Primarily a landscape and architecture photographer—he made superb pictures of British churches, ruined abbeys and the streams and falls of the Lake District and North Wales—he was instrumental in founding Britain's first photographic society, was the British Museum's first official photographer, was accorded unusual photographic access to the royal family and was key to getting photography included in the Fine Arts Bill of 1862, which allowed photographers to copyright their work. That year he gave up photography and went back to law. He never said why. He died seven years later, at age 50.

A new exhibition of about 90 of Fenton's photographs, including his pioneering war-scene photojournalism, is scheduled to open this month at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. before traveling to the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Tate in London. The photographs make clear Fenton's extraordinary range and underscore that he was, as Sarah Greenough, the exhibition's curator, says, "one of the most important of all English photographers."

Fenton's Crimean war pictures were greatly admired for their authenticity, but it's possible that he staged one scene. Fenton made two versions of *Valley*. In the most familiar version, cannon shot are chaotically strewn about the road, but in the other, the shot appear along the side of it. Did he, or someone else, clear the road for a better view or easier passage or, alternatively, place the cannon shot in the road for better effect? There is no way to know, but the earliest photograph that speaks directly of death in war just might have been a setup, arranged by the photographer to symbolize the shattering losses in the Crimea.

VICKI GOLDBERG is the author or co-author of some 20 books on photography.

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Please see additional important product information on next page.

[1] IMS MAT/June/04 (MPFARI June/04 database).

ARICEPT® (Donepezil Hydrochloride Tablets)

Brief Summary—see package insert for full prescribing information. **INDICATIONS AND USAGE** ARICEPT® is indicated for the treatment of mild to moderate dementia of the Alzheimer's type. **CONTRAINDICATIONS** ARICEPT® is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to donepezil hydrochloride or to piperidine derivatives. **WARNINGS** ***Anesthesia:*** ARICEPT®, as a cholinesterase inhibitor, is likely to exaggerate succinylcholine-type muscle relaxation during anesthesia. ***Cardiovascular Conditions:*** Because of their pharmacological action, cholinesterase inhibitors may have vagotonic effects on the sinoatrial and atrioventricular nodes. This effect may manifest as bradycardia or heart block in patients both with and without known underlying cardiac conduction abnormalities. Syncopal episodes have been reported in association with the use of ARICEPT®. ***Gastrointestinal Conditions:*** Through their primary action, cholinesterase inhibitors may be expected to increase gastric acid secretion due to increased cholinergic activity. Therefore, patients should be monitored closely for symptoms of active or occult gastrointestinal bleeding, especially those at increased risk for developing ulcers, e.g., those with a history of ulcer disease or those receiving concurrent nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDS). Clinical studies of ARICEPT® have shown no increase, relative to placebo, in the incidence of either peptic ulcer disease or gastrointestinal bleeding. ARICEPT®, as a predictable consequence of its pharmacological properties, has been shown to produce diarrhea, nausea and vomiting. These effects, when they occur, appear more frequently with the 10 mg/day dose than with the 5 mg/day dose. In most cases, these effects have been mild and transient, sometimes lasting one to three weeks, and have resolved during continued use of ARICEPT®. ***Genitourinary:*** Although not observed in clinical trials of ARICEPT®, cholinomimetics may cause bladder outflow obstruction. ***Neurological Conditions:*** Seizures: Cholinomimetics are believed to have some potential to cause generalized convulsions. However, seizure activity also may be a manifestation of Alzheimer's Disease. ***Pulmonary Conditions:*** Because of their cholinomimetic actions, cholinesterase inhibitors should be prescribed with care to patients with a history of asthma or obstructive pulmonary disease. **PRECAUTIONS Drug-Drug Interactions** (see Clinical Pharmacology: Clinical Pharmacokinetics: Drug-drug Interactions) ***Effect of ARICEPT® on the Metabolism of Other Drugs:*** No *in vivo* clinical trials have investigated the effect of ARICEPT® on the clearance of drugs metabolized by CYP 3A4 (e.g. cisapride, terfenadine) or by CYP 2D6 (e.g. imipramine). However, *in vitro* studies show a low rate of binding to these enzymes (mean K_i about 50–130 µM), that, given the therapeutic plasma concentrations of donepezil (164 nM), indicates little likelihood of interference. Whether ARICEPT® has any potential for enzyme induction is not known. Formal pharmacokinetic studies evaluated the potential of ARICEPT® for interaction with theophylline, cimetidine, warfarin, digoxin and ketoconazole. No effects of ARICEPT® on the pharmacokinetics of these drugs were observed. ***Effect of Other Drugs on the Metabolism of ARICEPT®:*** Ketoconazole and quinidine, inhibitors of CYP450, 3A4 and 2D6, respectively, inhibit donepezil metabolism *in vitro*. Whether there is a clinical effect of quinidine is not known. In a 7-day crossover study in 18 healthy volunteers, ketoconazole (200 mg q.d.) increased mean donepezil (5 mg q.d.) concentrations ($AUC_{0\text{-}24}$ and C_{max}) by 39%. The clinical relevance of this increase in concentration is unknown. Inducers of CYP 2D6 and CYP 3A4 (e.g., phenytoin, carbamazepine, dexamethasone, rifampin, and phenobarbital) could increase the rate of elimination of ARICEPT®. Formal pharmacokinetic studies demonstrated that the metabolism of ARICEPT® is not significantly affected by concurrent administration of digoxin or cimetidine. ***Use with Anticholinergics:*** Because of their mechanism of action, cholinesterase inhibitors have the potential to interfere with the activity of anticholinergic medications. ***Use with Cholinomimetics and Other Cholinesterase Inhibitors:*** A synergistic effect may be expected when cholinesterase inhibitors are given concurrently with succinylcholine, similar neuromuscular blocking agents or cholinergic agonists such as bethanechol. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** No evidence of a carcinogenic potential was obtained in an 88-week carcinogenicity study of donepezil hydrochloride conducted in CD-1 mice at doses up to 180 mg/kg/day (approximately 90 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis), or in a 104-week carcinogenicity study in Sprague-Dawley rats at doses up to 30 mg/kg/day (approximately 30 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis). Donepezil was not mutagenic in the Ames reverse mutation assay in bacteria, or in a mouse lymphoma forward mutation assay *in vitro*. In the chromosome aberration test in cultures of Chinese hamster lung (CHL) cells, some clastogenic effects were observed. Donepezil was not clastogenic in the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test and was not genotoxic in an *in vivo* unscheduled DNA synthesis assay in rats. Donepezil had no effect on fertility in rats at doses up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 8 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis). **Pregnancy** ***Pregnancy Category C:*** Teratology studies conducted in pregnant rats at doses up to 16 mg/kg/day (approximately 13 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) and in pregnant rabbits at doses up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 16 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) did not disclose any evidence for a teratogenic potential of donepezil. However, in a study in which pregnant rats were given up to 10 mg/kg/day (approximately 8 times the maximum recommended human dose on a mg/m² basis) from day 17 of gestation through day 20 postpartum, there was a slight increase in stillbirths and a slight decrease in pup survival through day 4 postpartum at this dose; the next lower dose tested was 3 mg/kg/day. There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. ARICEPT® should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus. **Nursing Mothers** It is not known whether donepezil is excreted in human breast milk. ARICEPT® has no indication for use in nursing mothers. **Pediatric Use** There are no adequate and well-controlled trials to document the safety and efficacy of ARICEPT® in any illness occurring in children. **Geriatric Use** Alzheimer's disease is a disorder occurring primarily in individuals over 55 years of age. The mean age of the patients enrolled in the clinical studies with ARICEPT® was 73 years; 80% of these patients were between 65 and 84 years old and 49% of the patients were at or above the age of 75. The efficacy and safety data presented in the clinical trials section were obtained from these patients. There were no clinically significant differences in most adverse events reported by patient groups ≥65 years old and <65 years old. **ADVERSE REACTIONS Adverse Events Leading to Discontinuation** The rates of discontinuation from controlled clinical trials of ARICEPT® due to adverse events for the ARICEPT® 5 mg/day treatment groups were comparable to those of placebo-treatment groups at approximately 5%. The rate of discontinuation of patients who received 7-day escalations from 5 mg/day to 10 mg/day, was higher at 13%. The most common adverse events leading to discontinuation, defined as those occurring in at least 2% of patients and at twice the incidence seen in placebo patients, are shown in Table 1

Table 1. Most Frequent Adverse Events Leading to Withdrawal from Controlled Clinical Trials by Dose Group

Dose Group	Placebo	5 mg/day ARICEPT®	10 mg/day ARICEPT®
Patients Randomized Event/% Discontinuing	355	350	315
Nausea	1%	1%	3%
Diarrhea	0%	<1%	3%
Vomiting	<1%	<1%	2%

Most Frequent Adverse Clinical Events Seen in Association with the Use of ARICEPT® The most common adverse events, defined as those occurring at a frequency of at least 5% in patients receiving 10 mg/day and twice the placebo rate, are largely predicted by ARICEPT®'s cholinomimetic effects. These include nausea, diarrhea, insomnia, vomiting, muscle cramp, fatigue and anorexia. These adverse events were often of mild intensity and transient, resolving during continued ARICEPT® treatment without the need for dose modification. There is evidence to suggest that the frequency of these common adverse events may be affected by the rate of titration. An open-label study was conducted with 269 patients who received placebo in the 15 and 30-week studies. These patients were titrated to a dose of 10 mg/day over a 6 week period. The rates of common adverse events were lower than those seen in patients titrated to 10 mg/day over one week in the controlled clinical trials and were comparable to those seen in patients on 5 mg/day. See Table 2 for a comparison of the most common adverse events following one and six week titration regimens

Table 2. Comparison of Rates of Adverse Events in Patients Titrated to 10 mg/day Over 1 and 6 Weeks

	No titration		One week titration	Six week titration
Adverse Event	**Placebo (n=315)**	**5 mg/day (n=311)**	**10 mg/day (n=315)**	**10 mg/day (n=269)**
Nausea	6%	5%	19%	6%
Diarrhea	5%	8%	15%	9%
Insomnia	6%	6%	14%	6%
Fatigue	3%	4%	8%	3%
Vomiting	3%	3%	8%	5%
Muscle cramps	2%	6%	8%	3%
Anorexia	2%	3%	7%	3%

Adverse Events Reported in Controlled Trials The events cited reflect experience gained under closely monitored conditions of clinical trials in a highly selected patient population. In actual clinical practice or in other clinical trials, these frequency estimates may not apply, as the conditions of use, reporting behavior, and the kinds of patients treated may differ. Table 3 lists treatment emergent signs and symptoms that were reported in at least 2% of patients in placebo-controlled trials who received ARICEPT® and for which the rate of occurrence was greater for ARICEPT® assigned than placebo assigned patients. In general, adverse events occurred more frequently in female patients and with advancing age

1. IMS MAT/June/04 (MPFARI – June/04 database).

Table 3. Adverse Events Reported in Controlled Clinical Trials in at Least 2% of Patients Receiving ARICEPT® and at a Higher Frequency than Placebo-treated Patients

Body System/Adverse Event	Placebo (n=355)	ARICEPT® (n=747)
Percent of Patients with any Adverse Event	**72**	**74**
Body as a Whole		
Headache	9	10
Pain, various locations	8	9
Accident	6	7
Fatigue	3	5
Cardiovascular System		
Syncope	1	2
Digestive System		
Nausea	6	11
Diarrhea	5	10
Vomiting	3	5
Anorexia	2	4
Hemic and Lymphatic System		
Ecchymosis	3	4
Metabolic and Nutritional Systems		
Weight Decrease	1	3
Musculoskeletal System		
Muscle Cramps	2	6
Arthritis	1	2
Nervous System		
Insomnia	5	9
Dizziness	6	8
Depression	<1	3
Abnormal Dreams	0	3
Somnolence	<1	2
Urogenital System		
Frequent Urination	1	2

Other Adverse Events Observed During Clinical Trials ARICEPT® has been administered to over 1700 individuals during clinical trials worldwide. Approximately 1200 of these patients have been treated for at least 3 months and more than 1000 patients have been treated for at least 6 months. Controlled and uncontrolled trials in the United States included approximately 900 patients. In regards to the highest dose of 10 mg/day this population includes 650 patients treated for 3 months, 475 patients treated for 6 months and 116 patients treated for over 1 year. The range of patient exposures is from 1 to 1214 days. Treatment emergent signs and symptoms that occurred during 3 controlled clinical trials and two open-label trials in the United States were recorded as adverse events by the clinical investigators using terminology of their own choosing. To provide an overall estimate of the proportion of individuals having similar types of events, the events were grouped into a smaller number of standardized categories using a modified COSTART dictionary and event frequencies were calculated across all studies. These categories are used in the listing below. The frequencies represent the proportion of 900 patients from these trials who experienced that event while receiving ARICEPT®. All adverse events occurring at least twice are included, except for those already listed in Tables 2 or 3, COSTART terms too general to be informative, or events less likely to be drug caused. Events are classified by body system and listed using the following definitions: *frequent adverse events* — those occurring in at least 1/100 patients; *infrequent adverse events* — those occurring in 1/100 to 1/1000 patients. These adverse events are not necessarily related to ARICEPT® treatment and in most cases were observed at a similar frequency in placebo-treated patients in the controlled studies. No important additional adverse events were seen in studies conducted outside the United States. **Body as a Whole:** *Frequent:* influenza, chest pain, toothache; *Infrequent:* fever, edema face, periorbital edema, hernia hiatal, abscess, cellulitis, chills, generalized coldness, head fullness, listlessness. **Cardiovascular System:** *Frequent:* hypertension, vasodilation, atrial fibrillation, hot flashes, hypotension; *Infrequent:* angina pectoris, postural hypotension, myocardial infarction, AV block (first degree), congestive heart failure, arteritis, bradycardia, peripheral vascular disease, supraventricular tachycardia, deep vein thrombosis. **Digestive System:** *Frequent:* fecal incontinence, gastrointestinal bleeding, bloating, epigastric pain; *Infrequent:* eructation, gingivitis, increased appetite, flatulence, periodontal abscess, cholelithiasis, diverticulitis, drooling, dry mouth, fever sore, gastritis, irritable colon, tongue edema, epigastric distress, gastroenteritis, increased transaminases, hemorrhoids, ileus, increased thirst, jaundice, melena, polydipsia, duodenal ulcer, stomach ulcer. **Endocrine System:** *Infrequent:* diabetes mellitus, goiter. **Hemic and Lymphatic System:** *Infrequent:* anemia, thrombocythemia, thrombocytopenia, eosinophilia, erythrocytopenia. **Metabolic and Nutritional Disorders:** *Frequent:* dehydration; *Infrequent:* gout, hypokalemia, increased creatine kinase, hyperglycemia, weight increase, increased lactate dehydrogenase. **Musculoskeletal System:** *Frequent:* bone fracture; *Infrequent:* muscle weakness, muscle fasciculation. **Nervous System:** *Frequent:* seizures, tremor, irritability, paresthesia, aggression, vertigo, ataxia, increased libido, restlessness, abnormal crying, nervousness, aphasia; *Infrequent:* cerebrovascular accident, intracranial hemorrhage, transient ischemic attack, emotional lability, neuralgia, coldness (localized), muscle spasm, dysphonia, gait abnormality, hypertonia, hypokinesia, neurodermatitis, numbness (localized), paranoia, dysarthria, dysphasia, hostility, decreased libido, melancholia, emotional withdrawal, nystagmus, pacing. **Respiratory System:** *Frequent:* dyspnea, sore throat, bronchitis; *Infrequent:* epistaxis, post nasal drip, pneumonia, hyperventilation, pulmonary congestion, wheezing, hypoxia, pharyngitis, pleurisy, pulmonary collapse, sleep apnea, snoring. **Skin and Appendages:** *Frequent:* pruritus, diaphoresis, urticaria; *Infrequent:* dermatitis, erythema, skin discoloration, hyperkeratosis, alopecia, fungal dermatitis, herpes zoster, hirsutism, skin striae, night sweats, skin ulcer. **Special Senses:** *Frequent:* cataract, eye irritation, vision blurred; *Infrequent:* dry eyes, glaucoma, earache, tinnitus, blepharitis, decreased hearing, retinal hemorrhage, otitis externa, otitis media, bad taste, conjunctival hemorrhage, ear buzzing, motion sickness, spots before eyes. **Urogenital System:** *Frequent:* urinary incontinence, nocturia; *Infrequent:* dysuria, hematuria, urinary urgency, metrorrhagia, cystitis, enuresis, prostate hypertrophy, pyelonephritis, inability to empty bladder, breast fibroadenosis, fibrocystic breast, mastitis, pyuria, renal failure, vaginitis. **Postintroduction Reports** Voluntary reports of adverse events temporally associated with ARICEPT® that have been received since market introduction that are not listed above, and that there is inadequate data to determine the causal relationship with the drug include the following: abdominal pain, agitation, cholecystitis, confusion, convulsions, hallucinations, heart block (all types), hemolytic anemia, hepatitis, hyponatremia, neuroleptic malignant syndrome, pancreatitis, and rash. **OVERDOSAGE Because strategies for the management of overdose are continually evolving, it is advisable to contact a Poison Control Center to determine the latest recommendations for the management of an overdose of any drug.** As in any case of overdose, general supportive measures should be utilized. Overdosage with cholinesterase inhibitors can result in cholinergic crisis characterized by severe nausea, vomiting, salivation, sweating, bradycardia, hypotension, respiratory depression, collapse and convulsions. Increasing muscle weakness is a possibility and may result in death if respiratory muscles are involved. Tertiary anticholinergics such as atropine may be used as an antidote for ARICEPT® overdosage. Intravenous atropine sulfate titrated to effect is recommended: an initial dose of 1.0 to 2.0 mg IV with subsequent doses based upon clinical response. Atypical responses in blood pressure and heart rate have been reported with other cholinomimetics when co-administered with quaternary anticholinergics such as glycopyrrolate. It is not known whether ARICEPT® and/or its metabolites can be removed by dialysis (hemodialysis, peritoneal dialysis or hemofiltration). Dose-related signs of toxicity in animals included reduced spontaneous movement, prone position, staggering gait, lacrimation, clonic convulsions, depressed respiration, salivation, miosis, tremors, fasciculation and lower body surface temperature. **DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION** The dosages of ARICEPT® shown to be effective in controlled clinical trials are 5 mg and 10 mg administered once per day. The higher dose of 10 mg did not provide a statistically significantly greater clinical benefit than 5 mg. There is a suggestion, however, based upon order of group mean scores and dose trend analyses of data from these clinical trials, that a daily dose of 10 mg of ARICEPT® might provide additional benefit for some patients. Accordingly, whether or not to employ a dose of 10 mg is a matter of prescriber and patient preference. Evidence from the controlled trials indicates that the 10 mg dose, with a one week titration, is likely to be associated with a higher incidence of cholinergic adverse events than the 5 mg dose. In open label trials using a 6 week titration, the frequency of these same adverse events was similar between the 5 mg and 10 mg dose groups. Therefore, because steady state is not achieved for 15 days and because the incidence of untoward effects may be influenced by the rate of dose escalation, treatment with a dose of 10 mg should not be contemplated until patients have been on a daily dose of 5 mg for 4 to 6 weeks. ARICEPT® should be taken in the evening, just prior to retiring. ARICEPT® can be taken with or without food. **HOW SUPPLIED** ARICEPT® is supplied as film-coated, round tablets containing either 5 mg or 10 mg of donepezil hydrochloride. The 5 mg tablets are white. The strength, in mg (5), is debossed on one side and ARICEPT is debossed on the other side. The 10 mg tablets are yellow. The strength, in mg (10), is debossed on one side and ARICEPT is debossed on the other side. 5 mg (White): Bottles of 30 (NDC# 62856-245-30), Bottles of 90 (NDC# 62856-245-90), Unit Dose Blister Package 100 (10x10) (NDC# 62856-245-41). 10 mg (Yellow): Bottles of 30 (NDC# 62856-246-30), Bottles of 90 (NDC# 62856-246-90), Unit Dose Blister Package 100 (10x10) (NDC# 62856-246-41). **Storage:** Store at controlled room temperature, 15°C to 30°C (59°F to 86°F).

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200337 Revised April 2004

Eisai Inc. Teaneck, NJ. 07666

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Foundation Father

Archaeologists in Virginia find the footprint of Thomas Jefferson's lost courthouse ~ BY CLAY RISEN

The third president left no specific drawing of his courthouse design, but archaeologists have found new clues to the Classical Revival structure.

BRIAN BATES WAS STANDING in front of a red brick county courthouse in Buckingham, Virginia, trying to describe something he has never seen—something, in fact, that vanished more than 130 years ago. "The original portico was massive," he said in his thick Virginia drawl, spreading his arms wide. "It was all about coming across as larger than life." Bates, a Buckingham native and an archaeologist at Longwood University in nearby Farmville, was looking for traces of the courthouse, built between 1822 and 1824, that Thomas Jefferson designed. The original structure burned down in 1869, and the current one was built on top of the ruins three years later. Historians say Jefferson left no specific architectural plans for the building, so all Bates and his co-workers had to go on were letters between the former president (some 12 years out of office when the correspondence began) and county commissioners, plus whatever evidence they could find in the Virginia clay.

One sunny day this past May, Bates, three students and his longtime assistant, Gary Gossett, were chest-deep in a 25-foot-long pit they had dug in a 4-foot-wide space between the courthouse and a 1960s-era addition. They wore jeans and T-shirts caked in dirt. Kelly "Pretty" Forman and Will Pettus, both students, were on their hands and knees working with trowels, delicately removing dirt inch by inch, while Gossett carried the diggings in a bucket out to a pile near the courthouse entrance; they would put the dirt back when they were done. "We're looking for builders' trenches," Bates said, meaning the rubble-filled ditches that 18th- and 19th-century builders employed to support foundations.

Their search was made all the more difficult by a 1973 courthouse renovation, which involved digging beneath the building and which Bates feared may have obliterated some evidence of Jefferson's original structure. Still, in 2003, Bates and his co-workers found where three of the walls had stood. This year they went back to find out how the fourth wall fit in. "There's a fair chance," he said, "that what we're looking for is gone."

The research, which promises to shed light on a lost achievement by one of the most influential architects of his time, is a big event in Buckingham, a county of 15,000 about an hour west of Richmond. Bates, whose bulky build and close-cropped hair make him look less like an academic than the volunteer fireman he is in his spare time, patiently answers questions from onlookers. Usually. "Hey, Brian," a sheriff's deputy asked, "found any buried treasure?"

"I get that all the time," Bates said with mock exasperation.

No one knows why Jefferson's original courthouse burned down, though there's no shortage of legends. Some say that in the chaotic years after the Civil War, carpetbaggers set it ablaze so they could get paid to build a new one. Others say lawyers started the fire—by destroying the legal documents stored inside, the thinking goes, they would profit from redrafting them. Bates figures the cause was more mundane,

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CLAY RISEN is an assistant editor for the New Republic.

STAN FELLOWS

most likely a stray ember.

Oddly, interest in the design of Jefferson's courthouse is relatively new. For more than a century historians and local residents believed that the replacement, completed in 1873, forty-seven years after Jefferson's death, was an exact replica of the original. But Delos Hughes, a professor emeritus at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, argued in 1992 that the existing building didn't match the one that Jefferson described in his letters. Instead, Hughes posited, the new building was a very loose interpretation of the original design. Bates—and most architectural historians—agree.

Knowing more about Jefferson's design may help scholars better understand his approach to civic architecture. The third president didn't just want to design buildings, he wanted to influence history. In Jefferson's day, public buildings were often poorly designed, badly built wooden structures. Jefferson, concerned that America wasn't establishing a lasting architectural tradition, set out to create sturdy buildings based on classical principles. "How is a taste in this beautiful art [of architecture] to be formed in our countrymen," he asked in a letter to James Madison in 1785, "unless we avail ourselves of every occasion when public buildings are to be erected, of presenting to them models for their study and imitation?"

Jefferson was on the right track, says Charles Brownell, an architectural historian at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond: "He knew that Americans frequently built by imitating standing buildings. He knew that if he set models, the odds were good they'd be copied." Along with at least one other courthouse, in Charlotte County, Virginia (1823), Jefferson designed the Virginia State Capitol (begun 1785), residences at Monticello (1796-1809) and Poplar Forest (begun 1806), and the original buildings at the University of Virginia (begun 1817). It's a small oeuvre, but some of these Classical-style buildings have been copied many times over. "America never had a more effective cheerleader for things classical," Hugh Howard writes in the 2003 book *Thomas Jefferson, Architect: The Built Legacy of Our Third President.*

Growing up in Buckingham, Bates had heard about the Jefferson courthouse. But he didn't get to dig any deeper until January 2003, after learning that the building was about to undergo a massive expansion that could wipe out evidence of the original building. Bates got an $18,000 grant from Virginia's Department of Historic Resources to excavate the site, and brought in ground-penetrating radar to determine where to dig. Then, with help from students, he spent February to May last year digging three-foot-deep, 400-square-foot pits along the sides of the courthouse, looking for the original building's foundations. He found seven trenches; one, located about 12 feet to the right of the existing structure, indicated that Jefferson's courthouse was wider than its replacement.

"Any evidence we can find," Bates says, reflects "how the preeminent architect of his age thought about such buildings."

Bates squeezed his search for the old structure between walls of the new ones.

Bates has confirmed the original building's height from the size of column bases that he found scattered around the courthouse's front yard—and, in one case, in front of a church down the street. He says the courthouse was likely a two-story structure, 52 feet wide and 65 feet deep, with 20-foot-high walls. A courtroom, three jury rooms and a balcony fit inside. It had a 27-foot-deep portico in front. Two pavilions, one on each side, were added in consultation with Jefferson to provide additional office space.

But Bates still didn't know how the building's back looked. The modern courthouse is squared off, but plans for another courthouse Jefferson designed had an apsidal end—in this case, resembling three sides of an octagon. The shape was common in Jefferson's work, and pops up at both Monticello and Poplar Forest. Bates and his co-workers went to find an answer this past May.

After a week of painstaking excavation and, as it happens, on their final day of work, they found the northern end of the builder's trench filled with rubble—mostly bricks and pieces of mortar—two-and-a-half-feet-deep. The trench turned inward, suggesting that the building indeed had an apsidal end. "To actually get results that far exceeded my expectations was incredibly satisfying," Bates says. "Any evidence that we can find is important in reflecting how the preeminent architect of his age thought about such buildings."

Over the course of his architectural career, Jefferson trained a small army of masons, carpenters and draftsmen in classical design—and encouraged friends and colleagues to hire his workers. Not surprisingly, other buildings near the Buckingham courthouse bear traces of Jefferson's design principles, such as brick walls (still rare at the time) instead of wood. "They were definitely influenced by Jefferson's design, and may have even been built by his builders," Bates says. In fact, Bates speculates that the designer of the replacement courthouse likely drew on those structures for inspiration: "It comes full circle."

RICHARD ROBINSON

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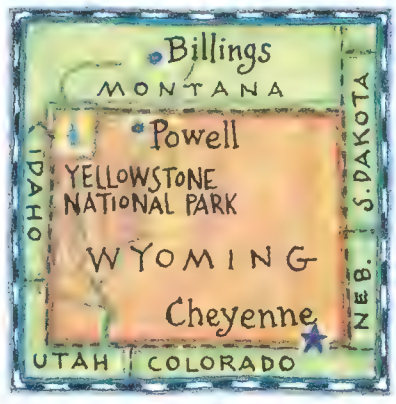
"We need to support this store," says Delfino Juarez, one of 429 shareholders.

For Sale by Owners

Threatened by megastores and a shuttered local chain, a Wyoming town revives Main Street by giving power to the people – BY MICHELLE NIJHUIS

AT THE MERCANTILE STORE in Powell, Wyoming, you'll find clothes to suit almost everyone. In a space about the size of a baseball diamond, lit by long rows of fluorescent lights, hiking boots and blazers fairly jostle with jampacked racks of shimmering prom dresses, belly-baring tops and modest denim skirts. "I serve farmers and ranchers, bankers and lawyers," says manager Paul Ramos. Locals in this isolated town of 5,500 have an understandable proprietary pride in this humble downtown business. After all, they own it. "The Merc" has 429 shareholders, most of whom live within a few blocks of the store.

The cooperative is Powell's answer to a big problem faced by many small towns: once-vibrant Main Streets drained by store closings and threatened by outlying malls and megastores. In Powell's case, the catalyst came in 2001, when the town's only general clothing store, part of the Stage chain, pulled out after its parent company's bankruptcy reorganization. "That block was the best business block in town," says Ken Witzeling, who owned the pharmacy next door, "but when Stage closed, you could find a parking place most anywhere."



Powell sits in a broad, arid valley in northwestern Wyoming, bordered on the west by Yellowstone National Park and on the east by the Bighorn Mountains. A century ago homesteaders lured by a promising federal irrigation project turned the desert flats into grain and sugar-beet fields. Over the decades, cottonwood-shaded middle-class neighborhoods grew up around Bent Street, Powell's three-block commercial district. The area prospered during Wyoming's oil boom of the 1970s, but plummeting oil prices in the 1980s, plus competition from new discount stores and malls, devastated Powell's businesses. "We had empty storefronts up and down the street like

GLENN OAKLEY; MAP: ELIZABETH WOLF

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so many missing teeth," says Dave Bonner, owner and publisher of the twice-weekly *Powell Tribune*. To buy a pair of slacks after Stage closed, Powell residents had to drive 23 miles to Cody or 100 miles to Billings, Montana.

Powell merchants then learned that Plentywood, a town of 2,000 in northeastern Montana, had tackled a similar crisis, in 1999, by establishing a community-owned store. Inspired, Powell's leaders untangled a web of state business regulations and in November 2001 began offering stock in the Mercantile for $500 a share, a price low enough to build broad support.

Witzeling and other Merc supporters talked up the idea to farmers, teachers, firefighters, even students at Powell's Northwest College. After local farmer Delfino Juarez bought a share, he announced it in a newspaper ad: "It's important to me to do all that I can to help our community remain strong." Duane Edmonds bought a share for his wife, JoAnn, as a Valentine's Day present. When sales lagged in late January, Ann Hinckley, a Powell resident for 55 years, chided reluctant neighbors in a *Tribune* ad: "What's wrong with you Powell people?! . . . Get on board!"

Within a few months, the Merc's volunteer committee had sold 800 shares, enough to ensure the store's opening. Mike Reile, a former district manager for Stage, donated his services as a clothing buyer. The Merc's elected board hired a manager and readied the 7,500-square-foot store, even hauling clothing racks from a defunct Kmart in Billings. Merc backers surveyed community tastes, and Reile chose his stock accordingly, buying clothes from plain to fancy. When the Merc opened, in August 2002, Powell residents crowded on Bent Street, and they've been shopping there ever since.

The Merc's gross sales topped $500,000 during the first year, well ahead of board projections. Seven months ago, the store opened a 2,500-square-foot annex in a nearby basement to expand its selection of children's clothes. These days, even on a Monday afternoon, it can be hard to find a parking space on Bent Street, and businesses such as the nearby coffee shop, dollar store and appliance store are sharing the traffic. "We're having strong gains," says Glen Holm, who owns the hardware store across the street from the Merc. "The Merc completes our Main Street—it gets people excited about coming downtown." Other residents are pleased for different reasons. "It's the only place in town where you can get cute teen clothes," says 16-year-old Tana Wellner, who plans to buy a dress at the Merc for her school formal.

Shoppers praise the Merc's service: it once arranged overnight delivery of a suit that a resident needed for a funeral. It ordered bow ties for the Northwest College chorus. And recently, the store opened an hour early to sell a necktie to a visitor from Idaho.

Other towns with ailing Main Streets have taken notice. Representatives of several towns have visited the store, and Sharon Earhart, director of the local chamber of commerce, has fielded calls from states as far away as Maine and North Carolina. Ely, Nevada, population 4,000, studied the Powell model and plans to open its own store in October.

The Merc and its imitators may have advantages over larger rivals. "If people equate shopping strictly with low prices, then perhaps the Mercantile doesn't really have a chance," says economist Jonathan Schechter, director of the Charture Institute, a socioeconomic think tank in Jackson, Wyoming. "But if people are asking themselves, 'For a small amount more, do I want to support an organization that is more in touch with the community and that offers things that I want?' then I think there's hope."

Reile says he isn't worried about competition from the Wal-Mart in Cody. "We're a different breed of cat," he says, pointing out that the Merc carries high-end brand names as well as $5 shirts. Still, even the Merc's most dedicated supporters admit to an occasional shopping trip to Cody or Billings. "We're all guilty of it," Ramos admits.

Despite shareholders' enthusiasm for the enterprise, the steady leakage of dollars remains a fact of life in Powell—and in many of the country's quietest places. "I hope the Merc will help us stem the outflow," says Bonner. "But has it removed the threat? No, it hasn't."

MICHELLE NIJHUIS wrote about preserving Native languages in 2003.

"We had empty storefronts up and down the street like missing teeth."

The Merc "gets people excited about coming downtown," says merchant Glen Holm.

GLENN OAKLEY

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FOUNTAIN HEAD Gargoyles galore douse visitors to Crown Fountain at Millennium Park, a 24.5-acre art complex that opened in July near Chicago's downtown lakefront. Two LED screens, each encased in 50-foot glass towers flanking a shallow pool, display the faces of some 1,000 Chicagoans, carefully selected to represent a cross section of the city's population. Each water-spouting face appears for about 13 minutes. Says artist Jaume Plensa, "People really seem to enjoy the freedom offered to play with my piece, without rules." Photograph by Jean-Marc Giboux. *—HELEN STARKWEATHER*

Sergeant York

The first African-American to cross the continent was "big medison" for the Corps of Discovery

During the expedition, William Clark's personal servant, York (his full name is unknown), enjoyed a degree of freedom unusual for a slave of his time. Along with other members of the corps, he hunted for game (contradicting statutes that prohibited slaves from having guns), bartered for goods and voted on where the explorers would camp for the winter. Clark named two geographical features after him, and Lewis credited him as the man who made possible the initial contact with the Shoshone Indians, whose horses the expedition needed to cross the Rockies. But first, the corps would encounter the Arikara Indians.

October 9, 1804 [Capt. William Clark]
A windey night Some rain, and the [wind] Continued So high & cold We could not Speek in Council with the Indians, we gave them Some Tobacco and informed them we would Speek tomorrow. . . . The Indians much asstonished at my Black Servent and Call him the big medison, this nation never Saw a black man before.

October 10, 1804 [Clark]
The Inds. much astonished at my black Servent, who made him Self more turrible in thier view than I wished him to Doe as I am told telling them that before I cought him he was wild & lived upon people, young children was verry good eating.

October 11, 1804 [Sgt. Patrick Gass]
Having made about four miles, we came to the second Village of the Rickarees, situated in a prairie on the south side.

"Some of the party had also told the Indians that we had a man with us who was black . . . this excited their curiossity very much."

CHARLES M. RUSSELL WATERCOLOR, 1908 / JOHN REDDY (PHOTO) / MONTANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Rev. May 2003a
Brief Summary

ALLEGRA®
(fexofenadine hydrochloride)
Capsules and Tablets

INDICATIONS AND USAGE Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis ALLEGRA is indicated for the relief of symptoms associated with seasonal allergic rhinitis in adults and children 6 years of age and older. Symptoms treated effectively were sneezing, rhinorrhea, itchy nose/palate/throat, itchy/watery/red eyes. **Chronic Idiopathic Urticaria** ALLEGRA is indicated for treatment of uncomplicated skin manifestations of chronic idiopathic urticaria in adults and children 6 years of age and older. It significantly reduces pruritus and the number of wheals. **CONTRAINDICATIONS** ALLEGRA is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to any of its ingredients. **PRECAUTIONS Drug Interaction with Erythromycin and Ketoconazole** Fexofenadine hydrochloride has been shown to exhibit minimal (ca. 5%) metabolism. However, co-administration of fexofenadine hydrochloride with ketoconazole and erythromycin led to increased plasma levels of fexofenadine hydrochloride. Fexofenadine hydrochloride had no effect on the pharmacokinetics of erythromycin and ketoconazole. In two separate studies, fexofenadine hydrochloride 120 mg twice daily (two times the recommended twice daily dose) was co-administered with erythromycin 500 mg every 8 hours or ketoconazole 400 mg once daily under steady-state conditions to normal, healthy volunteers (n=24 each study). No differences in adverse events or QT interval were observed when patients were administered fexofenadine hydrochloride alone or in combination with erythromycin or ketoconazole. The findings of these studies are summarized in the following table:

Effects on steady-state fexofenadine hydrochloride pharmacokinetics after 7 days of co-administration with fexofenadine hydrochloride 120 mg every 12 hours (two times the recommended twice daily dose) in normal volunteers (n=24)

Concomitant Drug	$C_{max ss}$ *(Peak plasma concentration)*	$AUC_{(0-12)_{ss}}$ *(Extent of systemic exposure)*
Erythromycin (500 mg every 8 hrs)	+82%	109*
Ketoconazole (400 mg once daily)	+135%	−164%

*The changes in plasma levels were within the range of plasma levels achieved in adequate and well-controlled clinical trials. The mechanism of these interactions has been evaluated in *in vitro*, *in situ*, and *in vivo* animal models. These studies indicate that ketoconazole or erythromycin co-administration enhances fexofenadine gastrointestinal absorption. *In vivo* animal studies also suggest that in addition to increasing absorption, ketoconazole decreases fexofenadine hydrochloride gastrointestinal secretion, while erythromycin may also decrease biliary excretion. **Drug Interactions with Antacids** Administration of 120 mg of fexofenadine hydrochloride (2 x 60 mg capsules) within 15 minutes of an aluminum and magnesium containing antacid (Maalox®) decreased fexofenadine AUC by 41% and C_{max} by 43%. ALLEGRA should not be taken closely in time with aluminum and magnesium containing antacids. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** The carcinogenic potential and reproductive toxicity of fexofenadine hydrochloride were assessed using terfenadine studies with adequate fexofenadine hydrochloride exposure (based on plasma area-under-the-concentration vs. time [AUC] values). No evidence of carcinogenicity was observed in an 18-month study in mice and in a 24-month study in rats at oral doses up to 150 mg/kg of terfenadine (which led to fexofenadine exposures that were respectively approximately 3 and 5 times the exposure from the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults). **Pregnancy Teratogenic Effects: Category C.** There was no evidence of teratogenicity in rats or rabbits at oral doses of terfenadine up to 300 mg/kg (which led to fexofenadine exposures that were approximately 4 and 31 times respectively the exposure from the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine in adults). There are no adequate and well controlled studies in pregnant women. Fexofenadine should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus. **Nonteratogenic Effects.** Dose-related decreases in pup weight gain and survival were observed in rats exposed to an oral dose of 150 mg/kg of terfenadine (approximately 3 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults based on comparison of fexofenadine hydrochloride AUCs). **Nursing Mothers** There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in women during lactation. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk, caution should be exercised when fexofenadine hydrochloride is administered to a nursing woman. **Pediatric Use** The recommended dose in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on cross study comparison of the pharmacokinetics of ALLEGRA in adults and pediatric patients and on the safety profile of fexofenadine hydrochloride in both adult and pediatric patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended doses. The safety of ALLEGRA tablets at a dose of 30 mg twice daily has been demonstrated in 438 pediatric patients 6 to 11 years of age in two placebo controlled 2-week seasonal allergic rhinitis trials. The safety of ALLEGRA for the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on cross-study comparison of the pharmacokinetics of ALLEGRA in adult and pediatric patients and on the safety profile of fexofenadine in both adult and pediatric patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended doses. The effectiveness of ALLEGRA for the treatment of seasonal allergic rhinitis in patients 6 to 11 years of age was demonstrated in one trial (n=411) in which ALLEGRA tablets 30 mg twice daily significantly reduced total symptom scores compared to placebo, along with extrapolation of demonstrated efficacy in patients ages 12 years and above and the pharmacokinetic comparisons in adults and children. The effectiveness of ALLEGRA for the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on an extrapolation of the demonstrated efficacy of ALLEGRA in adults with this condition and the likelihood that the disease course, pathophysiology and the drug's effect are substantially similar in children to that of adult patients. Three clinical safety studies comparing 15 mg BID (n=85) and 30 mg BID (n=330) of an experimental formulation of fexofenadine to placebo (n=430) have been conducted in pediatric patients aged 6 months to 5 years. In general, fexofenadine hydrochloride was well tolerated in these studies. No unexpected adverse events were seen given the known safety profile of fexofenadine and likely adverse reactions for this patient population. (See ADVERSE REACTIONS and CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY.) The safety and effectiveness of fexofenadine hydrochloride in pediatric patients under 6 years of age have not been established. **Geriatric Use** Clinical studies of ALLEGRA tablets and capsules did not include sufficient numbers of subjects aged 65 years and over to determine whether this population responds differently from younger patients. Other reported clinical experience has not identified differences in responses between the geriatric and younger patients. This drug is known to be substantially excreted by the kidney, and the risk of toxic reactions to this drug may be greater in patients with impaired renal function. Because elderly patients are more likely to have decreased renal function, care should be taken in dose selection, and may be useful to monitor renal function. (See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY). **ADVERSE REACTIONS Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis Adults.** In placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis clinical trials in patients 12 years of age and older, which included 2461 patients receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride capsules at doses of 20 mg to 240 mg twice daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. All adverse events that were reported by greater than 1% of patients who received the recommended daily dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride (60 mg capsules twice daily), and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo, are listed in Table 1. In a placebo-controlled clinical study in the United States, which included 570 patients aged 12 years and older receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 120 or 180 mg once daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. Table 1 also lists adverse experiences that were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 180 mg once daily and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo. The incidence of adverse events, including drowsiness, was not dose-related and was similar across subgroups defined by age, gender, and race.

Table 1
Adverse experiences in patients ages 12 years and older reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis clinical trials in the United States

Twice daily dosing with fexofenadine capsules at rates of greater than 1%

Adverse experience	*Fexofenadine 60 mg Twice Daily (n=670)*	*Placebo Twice Daily (n=662)*
Viral Infection (cold, flu)	2.5%	1.5%
Nausea	1.6%	1.5%
Dysmenorrhea	1.5%	0.3%
Drowsiness	1.3%	0.9%
Dyspepsia	1.3%	0.6%
Fatigue	1.3%	0.9%

Once daily dosing with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	*Fexofenadine 180 mg once daily (n=283)*	*Placebo (n=293)*
Headache	10.6%	7.5%
Upper Respiratory Tract Infection	3.2%	3.1%
Back Pain	2.8%	1.4%

The frequency and magnitude of laboratory abnormalities were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo treated patients. **Pediatric.** Table 2 lists adverse experiences in patients aged 6 to 11 years of age which were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at a dose of 30 mg twice daily in placebo controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies in the United States and Canada that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo.

Table 2
Adverse experiences reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies in pediatric patients ages 6 to 11 in the United States and Canada at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	*Fexofenadine 30 mg Twice daily (n=209)*	*Placebo (n=229)*
Headache	7.2%	6.6%
Accidental Injury	3.9%	1.3%
Coughing	3.8%	3.1%
Fever	2.4%	3.9%
Pain	2.4%	0.4%
Otitis Media	2.4%	0.0%
Upper Respiratory Tract Infection	4.3%	1.7%

Three clinical safety studies in 845 children aged 6 months to 5 years comparing 15 mg BID (n=85) and 30 mg BID (n=330) of an experimental formulation of fexofenadine to placebo (n=430) have been conducted. In general, fexofenadine hydrochloride was well tolerated in these studies. No unexpected adverse events were seen given the known safety profile of fexofenadine and likely adverse reactions for this patient population. (See PRECAUTIONS Pediatric Use). **Chronic Idiopathic Urticaria** Adverse events reported by patients 12 years of age and older in placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria studies were similar to those reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies. In placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria clinical trials, which included 726 patients 12 years of age and older receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 20 to 240 mg twice daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. Table 3 lists adverse experiences in patients aged 12 years and older which were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride 60 mg tablets twice daily in controlled clinical studies in the United States and Canada and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo. The safety of fexofenadine hydrochloride in the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in pediatric patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on the safety profile of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults and adolescent patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended dose (see Pediatric Use).

Table 3
Adverse experiences reported in patients 12 years and older in placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria studies in the United States and Canada at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	*Fexofenadine 60 mg twice daily (n=1366)*	*Placebo (n=778)*
Back Pain	2.5%	1.1%
Sinusitis	2.3%	1.1%
Dizziness	2.3%	0.6%
Drowsiness	2.2%	0.6%

Events that have been reported during controlled clinical trials involving seasonal allergic rhinitis and chronic idiopathic urticaria patients with incidences less than 1% and similar to placebo and have been rarely reported during postmarketing surveillance include: insomnia, nervousness, and sleep disorders or paronimia. In rare cases, rash, urticaria, pruritus and hypersensitivity reactions with manifestations such as angioedema, chest tightness, dyspnea, flushing and systemic anaphylaxis have been reported. **OVERDOSAGE** Reports of fexofenadine hydrochloride overdose have been infrequent and contain limited information. However, dizziness, drowsiness, and dry mouth have been reported. Single doses of fexofenadine hydrochloride up to 800 mg (six normal volunteers at this dose level) and doses up to 690 mg twice daily for 1 month (three normal volunteers at this dose level) or 240 mg once daily for 1 year (234 normal volunteers at this dose level) were administered without the development of clinically significant adverse events as compared to placebo. In the event of overdose, consider standard measures to remove any unabsorbed drug. Symptomatic and supportive treatment is recommended. Hemodialysis did not effectively remove fexofenadine hydrochloride from blood (1.7% removed) following terfenadine administration. No deaths occurred at oral doses of fexofenadine hydrochloride up to 5000 mg/kg in mice (110 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 200 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²) and up to 5000 mg/kg in rats (2.0 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 400 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²). Additionally, no clinical signs of toxicity or gross pathological findings were observed in dogs, no evidence of toxicity was observed at oral doses up to 2000 mg/kg (300 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 530 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²). **DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis Adults and Children 12 Years and Older.** The recommended dose of ALLEGRA is 60 mg twice daily, or 180 mg once daily. A dose of 60 mg once daily is recommended as the starting dose in patients with decreased renal function (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY). **Children 6 to 11 Years.** The recommended dose of ALLEGRA is 30 mg twice daily. A dose of 30 mg once daily is recommended as the starting dose in pediatric patients with decreased renal function (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY). **Chronic Idiopathic Urticaria Adults and Children 12 Years and Older.** The recommended dose of ALLEGRA is 60 mg twice daily. A dose of 60 mg once daily is recommended as the starting dose in patients with decreased renal function (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY). **Children 6 to 11 Years.** The recommended dose of ALLEGRA is 30 mg twice daily. A dose of 30 mg once daily is recommended as the starting dose in pediatric patients with decreased renal function (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY).

Please see product circular for full prescribing information.

Rx only

Rev. May 2003a
Brief Summary
Aventis Pharmaceuticals Inc.
Kansas City, MO 64137 USA

US Patents 4,254,129; 5,375,693; 5,578,610

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Chinese Government Ignites World's Biggest Gold Rush

Gold Coin Ownership Legalized for First Time In over 50 Years—Surge In Worldwide Gold Demand Creates Shortage

SHANGHAI, China, Tuesday 8:55 AM—What happens when 1.2 *billion* people suddenly have the opportunity to own gold after more than half a century? This is the amazing story unfolding this moment in China, where the government is legalizing gold coin ownership for its citizens, the world's largest population.

Take a look back at what happened in the United States in 1975, when the U.S. government made it legal for Americans to again own gold. In a few years gold prices shot up to over $800 an ounce and old U.S. gold coins rocketed to unheard-of prices! What will happen to the market when the Chinese, with 25% of the entire world's population, can finally own their beloved gold coins?

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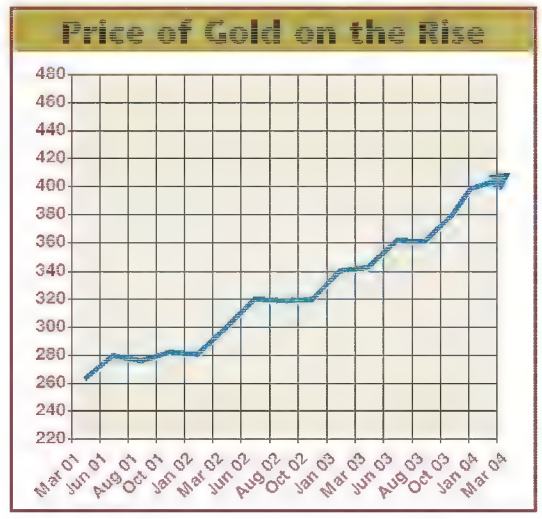

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"[York is] insolent and Sulky, I gave him a Severe trouncing."

They had the American flag hoisted which Captain Lewis gave them yesterday. Their lodges are similar to those in the first village, and the same, or perhaps more, in number. They are the most cleanly Indians I have ever seen on the voyage; as well as the most friendly and industrious. We anchored about 50 yards from shore, and sent a periogue over the river for wood. We all slept on board except the cooks, who went on shore to prepare provisions for the next day.

October 12, 1804 [Gass]
[We] remained here the forenoon to hear the chief of this village speak. Last night the Indians stole an axe from our cook, which of course in some degree diminished our confidence, and lessened the amicable character we had conceived of them.

October 15, 1804 [Sgt. John Ordway]
We Set off eairly. . . . At 7 oC. we met a hunting party of the Rickarees [Arikara] comming down the river returning to their village . . . we halted with them about 2 hours. . . . We proceeded on. . . . At 10 oC. we passed another hunting party who were Encamped in a timbred bottom. . . . We proceeded on. . . . At Sunset we Camped on [the North Side] at a hunting Camp of the R. Ree nation. their was abt. 30 men & a nomber of women & children at this Camp. they treated us in the Same manner as the rest of their nation did. the Greatest Curiousity to them was York Capt. Clarks Black Man. all the nation made a Great deal of him. the children would follow after him, & if he turned towards them they would run from him & hollow as if they were terreyfied, & afraid of him.

October 26, 1804 [Clark]
We Set the Ricara Chief on Shore with Some Mandans, many on each Side veiwing of us, we took in 2 Chiefs (Coal and Big Man) and halted a feiw minits at their Camps. . . . Many men women & Children flocked down to See us. . . . They appeared delighted with the Steel Mill which we were obliged to use [for grinding corn], also with my black Servent.

After the expedition ended, Clark traveled in 1807 to St. Louis to take up duties as chief Indian agent for the Territory of Upper Louisiana, bringing York with him. A rift developed between the two men: York had wanted to remain in Kentucky, near his wife, whom he hadn't seen in almost five years. He also petitioned Clark for his freedom—perhaps thinking of the double pay and 320 acres the other men received for their services on the expedition. These requests struck Clark as presumptuous coming from a slave. Clark eventually allowed York to return to Kentucky in 1808 for a short visit. But Clark wrote to his brother Jonathan: "If any attempt is made by york to run off, or refuse to provorm his duty as a Slave, I wish him Sent to New Orleans and Sold, or hired out to Some Severe master untill he thinks better of Such Conduct."

Did York (sculpted by Ed Hamilton in 2003) die of cholera in Tennessee?

In a letter (now in the Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection at the Filson Historical Society in Louisville) to his brother dated a few months later, Clark wrote: "I did wish to do well by him—but as he has got Such a notion about freedom and his emence Services, that I do not expect he will be of much Service to me again; I do not think with him, that his Services has been So great (or my Situation would promit me to liberate him)."

York returned to St. Louis in early 1809, but Clark still viewed him unfavorably. "He is here but of verry little Service to me," Clark wrote to Jonathan. "[York is] insolent and Sulky, I gave him a Severe trouncing the other Day and he has much mended Sence."

The last mention of York in William Clark's letters appears in August 1809; Clark was so displeased with him that he determined to hire him out or sell him. John O'Fallon, Clark's nephew, wrote in 1811: "The term for which [York] was hired to Mr. Young yesterday expired but I believe agreable to request Mr. Fitzhugh has again hired him to a Mr. Mitchell living about seven miles from this place. . . . I apprehend that he has been indifferently clothed if at all by Young. . . ." O'Fallon further notes that York's wife had moved with her master and the rest of his household to Mississippi; it is unlikely that York and his wife saw each other again. Ten years after the expedition's end, York was still enslaved, working as a wagoner for the Clark family.

In 1832, writer Washington Irving interviewed Clark and asked of York's fate. Clark replied that he had finally freed York and said, astonishingly, that his former slave wasn't happy with his freedom and tried to return to Clark—dying of cholera along the way.

But did he? In 1832, fur trader Zenas Leonard, visiting a Crow village in north-central Wyoming, "found a Negro man, who informed us that he first came to this country with Lewis and Clark—with whom he also returned to the state of Missouri, and in a few years returned again with a Mr. Mackinney, a trader on the Missouri river, and has remained here ever since—which is about ten or twelve years."

On January 17, 2001, President Clinton promoted York posthumously to the rank of honorary sergeant, Regular Army.

TOM FOUGEROUSSE / UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

Kilroy Was Here

En route to Vietnam in the 1960s, American G.I.'s recorded their hopes and fears on the canvas undersides of troopship sleeping berths ~ BY OWEN EDWARDS

Some soldiers (Michigan's Robert Simpson, inset, used Morse code, above) left behind cryptic poems, others doodles or doggerel.

OF ALL THE GRAFFITI that humanity has created across the centuries, perhaps most touching are the inscriptions left behind by soldiers. Since long before the Achaeans set sail for Troy, military life has been marked by loneliness, inaction, anxiety, sudden intense drama and the very real prospect of early, violent death. Because of a heightened sense of impermanence, perhaps, the scrawls, squiggles and drawings that record the passage of troops to and from battle—or, as the play *Mister Roberts* so aptly put it, "from boredom to tedium and back again with sidetrips to ennui"—take on a poignant significance far beyond a handprint in the wet concrete of a new sidewalk, initials in a heart carved into an old tree, or high-school graduation messages spray-painted on a highway overpass.

Military graffiti can range from fatalistic to scatological to ironically funny, from countless plaintive variations on "Why me?" to the bluster and bravura of young men heading into the unknown. During World War I, British soldiers, after reading the motto on the belt buckles of German soldiers—*Gott Mit Uns* (God is with us)—wrote on the walls of their trenches, "We got mittens too." And one of the most famous characters of World War II was a crudely drawn, long-nosed fellow peering over a fence whose announcement, "Kilroy Was Here," appeared almost everywhere American soldiers went.

[*Troopship Bunk Canvas Graffiti*
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY]

LEE BELTRONE; JUANITA INGRAHAM COLLECTION

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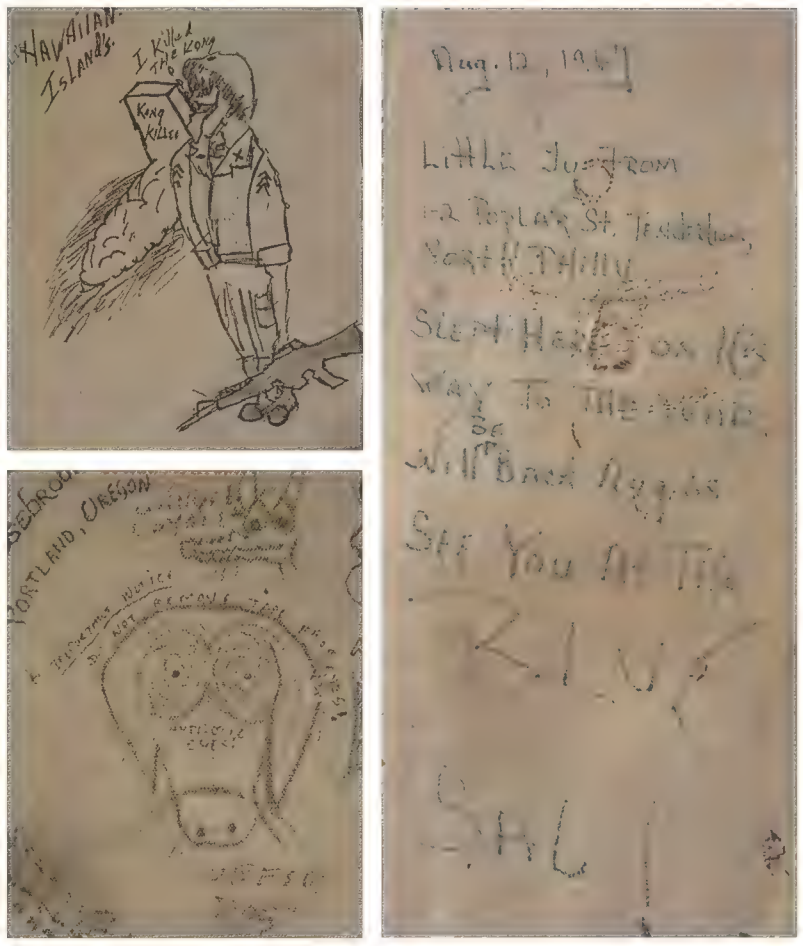
"I knew I had stumbled on a unique sort of personal history."

In 2003, the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History acquired examples of G.I. graffiti with a particular resonance. They are works on canvas—drawings, words and doodles inscribed on the undersides of a troopship's cramped hammock-style berths by soldiers and marines on their way from Oakland, California, to Vietnam. The discovery of these tantalizing fragments, documenting the experiences of men who were soldiers once and young, came about as an unintended consequence of another quest altogether. In February 1997, Jack Fisk, production designer for *The Thin Red Line*—a film adaptation of novelist James Jones' evocation of World War II combat in the Pacific—wanted to create a movie set that would accurately simulate a troopship. Fisk consulted Art Beltrone, a Keswick, Virginia-based collector of military memorabilia who has served as an adviser to films and museums for 30 years. He and Fisk decided that the best place to get a feel for a World War II troopship was aboard the real thing: they traveled to a maritime-reserve installation on Virginia's James River, where a ghostly fleet of mothballed troop carriers lay rusting at anchor awaiting demolition. At 4 on a cold winter morning, wearing miners' helmets equipped with lights, they entered the *General Nelson M. Walker*, a 609-foot-long P-2 troopship taken out of service in 1968. The *Walker* had been part of a lumbering fleet that ferried 500,000 soldiers and marines to Vietnam.

While Fisk videotaped the troop quarters, Beltrone discovered that the canvas undersides of the bunks, stacked three high and canted at a 45-degree angle in their daytime storage position, contained drawings and words written by the soldiers in the berths below. "There was a little of everything," Beltrone recalls. "Obscenities, drawings, even poetry." He was fascinated by the manic mix—"Bong the Cong," "George Washington Slept Here," "Capitalist Yankee Dogs go Home!" Beltrone had been in the Marine Corps Reserves during the 1960s but had not been called up during the Vietnam War. "I knew I'd stumbled on a unique sort of personal history," he says. "These young men were going to war, while I had spent those years on Long Island."



Poignant or quirky, all the graffiti reflect individuality.

To soldiers, berths were blank canvasses.

Beltrone decided it was important to salvage some of the canvasses, their messages conveying bravado and suppressed fear of the immediate future. (He points out that the tedious 18-day trip across the Pacific pleased most troops, because the time in transit counted as "in-country" duty.) On several visits to the ship with his wife, Lee, a photographer, Beltrone recorded the inscriptions on the canvasses. (The full story is recounted in their book *Vietnam Graffiti: Messages From a Forgotten Troopship,* to be published in December by Howell Press.)

Beltrone convinced the Maritime Administration to donate 127 of the canvasses to seven museums around the country, including the NMAH. He was particularly intrigued by one of the four canvasses in the Smithsonian's possession: it contains several lines of Morse code and, below that, a mysterious poem. Using a code book, he deciphered the dots and dashes, thereby unearthing the author's name, Robert Simpson, and street address in Plainwell, Michigan. The canvas was dated 1967. The lines, written in free verse, read:

> You're the one who
> must decide who's
> to live and who's to die.
> You're the one who gives his
> body as a weapon of the
> war—and without you all
> this killing can't go on.

Beltrone was able to trace Simpson. He was, as the Morse code suggested, a radio operator. Serving with the First Armored Cavalry Regiment, he had been drafted in 1966 at age 21. Simpson survived the war only to be killed in 1992 in the crash of an ultralight civilian aircraft he was piloting. The *Walker* will likely soon be demolished, but the Beltrones continue to rescue its relics before the inscriptions end up, in a very real sense, on the scrapheap of history.

OWEN EDWARDS is a freelance writer based in San Francisco, California.

LEE BELTRONE (4)

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55. Franklin Templeton Investments. For information on how Templeton's experience and expertise in global investing, contact us at www.franklintempleton.com

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56. American Heart Association. Find out how you can help the American Heart Association fight heart disease at www.americanheart.org/plannedgiving

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Eyeballing the Vote

A judge involved in the 2000 Florida ballot recount talks about his vision

AMONG THE 40 OBJECTS in "Vote: The Machinery of Democracy," an exhibition at the National Museum of American History, is the magnifying glass used by Judge Robert Rosenberg of Broward County, Florida, during the ballot recount in the 2000 presidential election. Four of the state's 67 counties participated in manual recounts. Broward County's chief justice appointed Rosenberg, a Republican, to replace the ailing supervisor of elections on the county's three-member canvassing board, which reviewed 1,800 disputed ballots and decreased George W. Bush's lead by 567 votes. In his first interview on the subject since the election, Rosenberg spoke by telephone this past July with the exhibition's curator, Larry Bird. Here, excerpts of their conversation:

Where did you get the magnifying glass?

My vision—I wear glasses—is 20/400, with astigmatism. There were chads attached at two points, three points—I have to take my glasses off to see them. I asked one of the clerks, "You happen to have a magnifying glass?" It's an innocent question.

How did you get tapped to count disputed ballots?

When the recount began, I was in Reno, Nevada, taking an evidence class. After I returned home, I received a telephone call from the chief judge on the Broward County Canvassing Board. The supervisor of elections was physically drained, and a replacement [was needed] to head up the recount: "Both parties agree that it's you. You are the consensus person." I got on the computer. What are the standards here? I found a number of cases [about vote recounts]: Massachusetts, South Dakota, Illinois, Alaska, California. I read

ALAN DIAZ / AP / WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Rosenberg (in Ft. Lauderdale with a ballot on Nov. 24, 2000) became a reluctant focus of the election controversy.

every case. I read the Illinois case [Pullen v. Mulligan, Cook County, Illinois, 1990], and I said, I think this is the governing standard. There was no Florida standard, except the general language of Florida law.

How did you evaluate each disputed ballot?
My role was not unlike that of an umpire at a baseball game. If a ball is in the strike zone, it's a strike. If it's not in the strike zone, it's not. I was consistent, I made the call out loud. I did the same thing an umpire would do.

You began to look at ballots with the magnifying glass. When were you aware that this photograph had been made?
Later in the day, there's this terrible big-eye picture. It's a distorted eye, half of my head is bigger than the other.

"The matter is over," says Rosenberg (1999).

After the initial shock, did you come to enjoy it, or is it still a terrible big-eye picture?
There's nothing I can do about it. When the game is over, people talk to players and managers, maybe some fans. No one talks to the umpire. . . . I'm moving on! I have cases to try. My role is not that of an entertainer.

Was there any point when you may have said to yourself, "I became a judge for this?"
No . . . I was going to do the best job I could do. I was going to read everything, analyze everything. Ask appropriate questions. I put everything on the record, and made my calls as fairly and accurately as I could. After the recount, both sides came up and said "You were fair and honorable." I would make the call out loud, and show them the ballot.

The photograph, almost an icon of the Florida election recount process, has provided fodder for political satirists. Did you have any favorite late-night TV jokes?
If people were going to make jokes, that's OK, they're entertainers. My picture entered the public arena. I had requests for interviews from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the foreign press, local newspapers. My only comment was that the matter is over, I'm going about my business. There's no sense in interviewing the umpire.

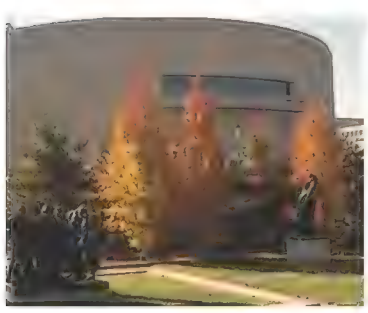
How's your vision now?
My wife jokes: "You should have done an ad for Visine."

"Vote: The Machinery of Democracy" is at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History until January 31, 2005.

ROBERT ROSENBERG COLLECTION; YALE JOEL; LEE SNIDER / CORBIS

FROM THE ATTIC

BODY SCULPTING Weeks before the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden opened, 30 years ago this month, staff artist Lee Aks seemed every bit the Charles Atlas, lifting enormous works of art overhead. Aks and a colleague had crafted several dozen Styrofoam mock-ups of bronzes (above, their copy of Reg Butler's 1951 *Girl*) and shifted them around the museum grounds "like pieces on a chessboard" until a pleasing arrangement could be found. A crane lowered the originals, which weighed up to two tons, into the garden. The $16 million museum was built to showcase many of the 6,000 modern paintings and sculptures donated by Greenwich, Connecticut, financier Joseph Hirshhorn—the largest artistic bequest ever made to the Smithsonian. (Hirshhorn died in 1981.) Some architecture critics scoffed at the cylindrical building, calling it a marble doughnut, a gun turret and a Martian spacecraft. But it was a hit with the public; within six months, a million visitors had crossed its threshold. Three decades later, Aks, 58, can still be found in the sculpture garden. A conservator, he cleans and maintains the Rodins, Matisses and Calders. But, the one-time iron pumper says, "My weight lifting days are over." —*BETH PY-LIEBERMAN*



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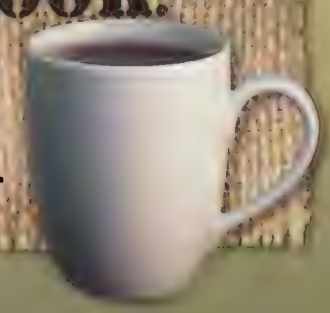

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Bugs Beware

Entomologist Gary Hevel spent four years scouring his yard for insects and netted 500,000

The insects "just picked the wrong house," says Hevel (in his Maryland backyard).

ONE MILD EVENING in early June, a tiger beetle landed on the screen door of Gary Hevel's suburban Maryland home and was promptly ushered into an empty mayonnaise jar. "A good night for insects," says Hevel, an entomologist at the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. "It's only the second species of that family I've found in nearly four years."

Since July 2000, Hevel has netted, trapped and just plain picked up half a million beetles, butterflies, moths, ants, flies, wasps and other insects. From his haul he has identified approximately 4,000 species. "It's staggering to know there are that many things in a backyard," he says.

Many of those hapless creatures are now at the museum in two cabinets labeled "BYP"—for Backyard Project. Hevel's specimens, though a mere fraction of the 34 million insects in the museum's collection, nonetheless illustrate what entomologist Thomas Eisner once asserted: "Insects won't inherit the earth when we are gone. They already own it." Hevel's inspiration came from *A Lot of Insects: Entomology in a Suburban Garden*, a 1941 book by Frank Lutz, a researcher at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Lutz identified 1,402 insect species in a four-year survey of his backyard.

But Hevel found that following Lutz's lead and surveying one defined area over a specific period wasn't always easy. A milkweed longhorn beetle that Hevel spotted in a neighboring yard was off limits, and he was disappointed that another never turned up in his own yard. Hevel was thrilled to discover the coveted adult hag moth orbiting his porch light this past July, but the project deadline had passed. "A species that I had never found in my collecting efforts and which is rarely seen as an adult," Hevel says.

But mostly he was pleasantly surprised. On his dead plum tree, Hevel spied a strange, parasitic wasp from Asia that preys on bark beetles and that had never been documented in the United States. He doesn't know how it got here. And a green Hercules beetle, the first one Hevel has encountered outside of Florida and Georgia, flew into his black-light trap one night, perfectly timed to impress a visiting reporter.

With the project over, Hevel spends his days identifying his specimens. But back home, he has had trouble resisting the urge to collect. In fact, lately he's been thinking about challenging Connecticut entomologist Dave Wagner, who found more than 1,000 species of Lepidoptera—moths, mostly—at his residence. So far, Hevel has netted more than 500 Lepidoptera. Surely there are more where those came from.

—VICTORIA DAWSON

WHO'S COUNTING?

8

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OCTOBER 2004 VOLUME 35, NUMBER 7

Four Fateful Elections

What if Lincoln had lost in 1860, or if Theodore Roosevelt had won in 1912? How did Franklin Roosevelt, in 1932, and Ronald Reagan, in 1980, emerge to lead a dispirited nation?

AMONG GEORGE WASHINGTON'S many distinctions, one of the most enduring must be that he was twice elected president unanimously and without opposition. Only one of his successors came close to that feat: the unopposed James Monroe, who, in 1820, won every electoral vote except the one cast for Secretary of State John Quincy Adams by an elector from ever-unpredictable New Hampshire. (The prickly and reserved Adams, who wasn't even running for president, was embarrassed by the vote.) Since that time, every U.S. presidential election has not only involved multiple candidates but hinged on the choices of a broader public, as more and more states moved to elect rather than appoint their representatives in the electoral college.

And those choices, as Americans well know, can have fateful consequences. In the impassioned run-up to this year's presidential election—the 55th in our history—we asked four eminent historians to illuminate earlier contests that they felt were momentous: Lincoln scholar David Herbert Donald on the election of 1860, historian and international affairs expert James Chace on 1912, FDR biographer Geoffrey C. Ward on 1932, and Reagan biographer Lou Cannon on 1980. In some, such as the election of 1860, the choices were especially stark: between freedom and slavery, unity and division, war and peace. In others, like the tumultuous four-way race of 1912 that charted the future of the Republican Party and set the high-water mark for America's Progressives and Socialists, the importance of the outcome became clear only with the passage of time. Of course, every American doubtless has his or her own ideas about which elections have done the most to shape our nation's history—for good or ill. But even a cursory reading of that history proclaims another underlying truth: that *every* election matters, and every vote counts.

Ex-president Teddy Roosevelt (at Grant's Tomb, Memorial Day 1911) felt successor Taft betrayed him.

BROWN BROTHERS

1860

The Road Not Taken

Republican Abraham Lincoln won the presidency with barely 40 percent of the vote. But what if his pro-slavery Democratic opponent had carried the day?

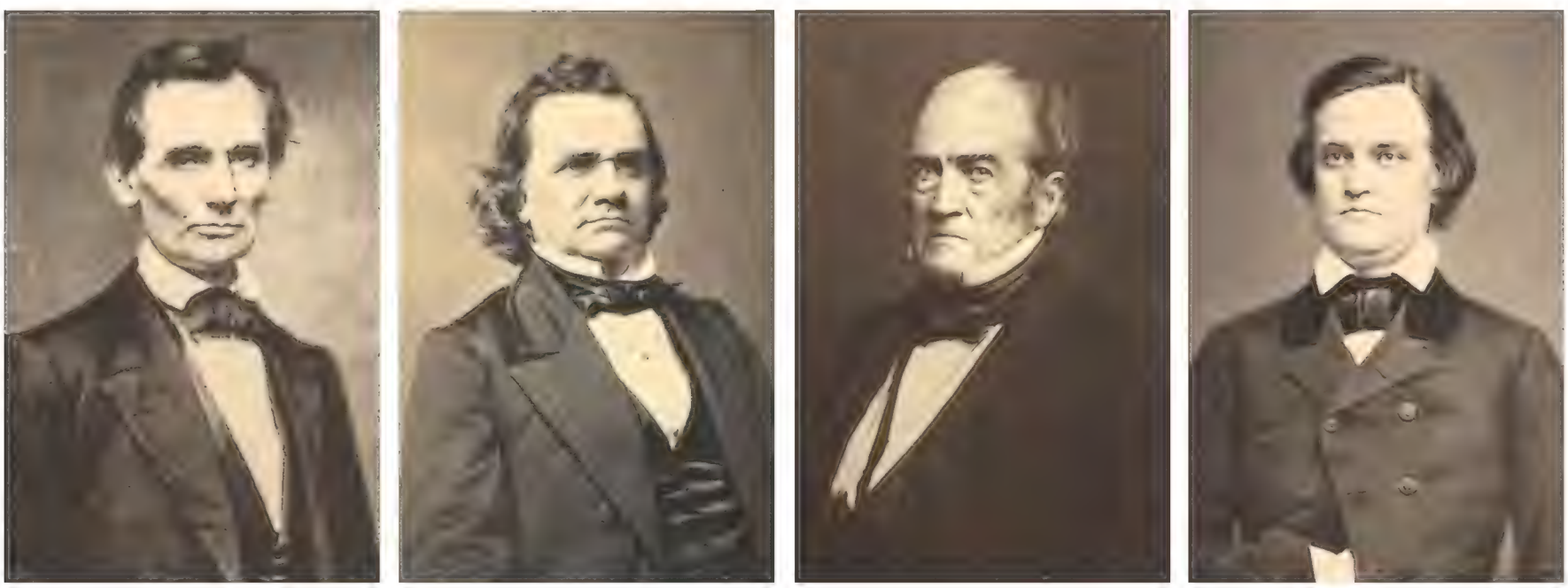
BY DAVID HERBERT DONALD

THE BEST WAY to gauge the importance of the presidential election of 1860 is to imagine that it had a different outcome.

In that election the basic issue was the extension of slavery into the national territories. There were four candidates. In a raucous convention in Chicago, the newly formed Republican Party passed over the front-runner, William H. Seward of New York, who was considered too radical on the slavery question, and chose the relatively unknown Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. Its platform denounced the recent Dred Scott decision of the United States Supreme Court, which allowed slavery to exist in all the national territories. The Democratic Party split over the slavery issue. Its Northern and Western wing nominated Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas and endorsed his policy of "popular sovereignty," which permitted residents of each territory to decide whether to allow or exclude slavery. The Southern contingent, which also had the backing of some Northern Democrats, such as outgoing president James Buchanan, supported Vice President John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and a platform protecting the rights of slaveholders in all national territories. A conservative group, the Union Party, consisting largely of former Whigs, put forward John Bell of Tennessee as their candidate on a vague platform calling for "the Constitution of the Country, the Union of the States, and the Enforcement of the Laws."

The ensuing campaign was vigorous and bitter. The Republicans were the best organized, staging parades by "Wide Awakes," mostly young recruits who, dressed in black oilcloth uniforms and caps and carrying torches, marched nearly every night, shouting their praise for "Old Abe." Not to be outdone, Douglas' supporters also formed marching groups, known (in an allusion to the senator's short stature) as "Little Giants" or "Little Dougs," and the companies recruited

DAVID HERBERT DONALD, author of Lincoln, Lincoln at Home *and* We Are Lincoln Men, *taught history at Harvard.*



From left: Republican Abraham Lincoln won 18 Northern and Western states, Northern Democrat Stephen Douglas won Missouri, the Union Party's John Bell garnered three Southern states and Southern Democrat John Breckinridge took 11 Southern states.

MATHEW BRADY / PICTURE HISTORY; E. ANTHONY / PICTURE HISTORY; PICTURE HISTORY; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

to support John Bell called themselves "Bell Ringers." Amid all of this commotion three of the candidates—Lincoln, Breckinridge and Bell—followed tradition and carefully refrained from making speeches or issuing public statements, but Douglas, who best realized the looming danger of disunion, broke with convention and actively campaigned in all parts of the country.

In the November voting, the Republicans were victorious, and Lincoln received an overwhelming majority of electoral votes (180 out of 303). But the popular vote was another story. Of the 4,689,568 voters, only 39.8 percent voted for Lincoln. Douglas received about 29 percent of the popular vote, Breckinridge 18 percent and Bell about 13 percent. The voting revealed an ominous pattern. For the first time, a president was elected by a clear sectional vote. Lincoln had strong support in the Northern and Western states, but he had no significant backing in the border states and received no electoral votes in the states of the Deep South.

Lincoln—like a number of other American presidents—was a minority president. It is worth noting, however, that he would have won even if efforts to forge a united opposition ticket had succeeded. The peculiar American election system gives the candidate with the most votes in any state the entire electoral vote of that state. Combining the anti-Lincoln vote would have cost the Republicans only 11 electoral votes—four from California, three from Oregon and four from New Jersey—and Lincoln would still have had a comfortable majority in the electoral college.

But, for the sake of historical argument, let's assume that a fusion ticket had won the 35 electoral votes of New York, which the Republicans carried by only 50,000 votes. In that case, Lincoln would have received only 145 electoral votes—7 short of the required majority—and the election would have been decided by the House of Representatives, where each state would have a single vote. In such an election, limited by the Constitution to the three candidates with the most electoral votes (Lincoln, Breckinridge and Bell), the

Lincoln's running mate, Maine senator Hannibal Hamlin, was an ex-Democrat who left the party over its pro-slavery stance.

LANDMARKS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HISTORY 1789–1864

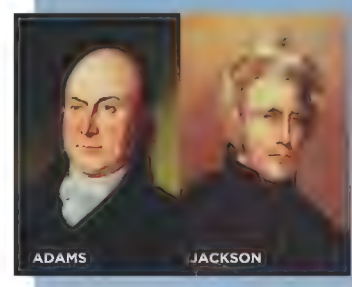
1789: George Washington elected president unanimously by the electoral college, whose members were chosen by the states, not voters.

1800

1800: In the first heated presidential campaign, Vice President Thomas Jefferson beats his boss, incumbent John Adams. But party-line voting by electors ties Jefferson with his fellow Republican Aaron Burr. After six days of debate and 36 ballots, the House of Representatives elects Jefferson president.

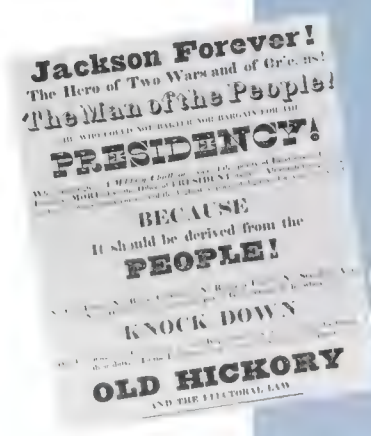
1804: Ratification of the 12th Amendment averts any replay of the 1800 stalemate by directing electors to vote separately for president and vice president.

1824: In the last election decided by the House of Representatives, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts is chosen over Senator Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, who had won more popular votes but not the required majority of electoral votes.



1828: The Democratic Party debuts with the successful election of Andrew Jackson, who avenges his loss against Adams.

1831: The Anti-Masons, the first organized third party in America, hold the first convention to pick a presidential candidate. By 1840, all parties have nominating conventions.



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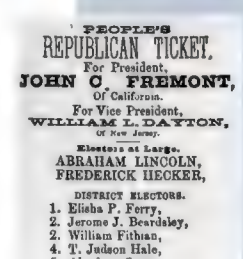
1860: Republican Abraham Lincoln wins office with only 39.8 percent of the popular vote. He carries no Southern states—the first time a presidential election splits on regional lines.

1854: Birth of the modern Republican Party. Presidential candidate John Frémont loses in 1856, but in the 36 elections since, it's Republicans 22, Democrats 14.



GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK; TIMELINE: GRANGER COLLECTION (2); NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY / BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY; ATWATER KENT MUSEUM OF PHILADELPHIA / BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY; BETTMANN / CORBIS; GRANGER COLLECTION; PICTURE HISTORY

In a bitter contest that delighted cartoonists, Lincoln's "Wide Awake" club aroused support with parades lit by torches (below).

opponents of the Republican Party could have united to give Breckinridge a very narrow victory.

How would the country have fared under a Breckinridge presidency? A Democratic president, backed by the sizable Democratic minority in Congress, would have blocked the important economic and social legislation enacted by the Republicans during the Civil War. Thus, there would likely have been no high tariff laws that protected the iron industry, so essential in postwar economic development, no Homestead Act giving 160 acres to settlers willing to occupy and till land out West, no transcontinental railroad legislation, no land-grant colleges, no national currency or national banking system, no Department of Agriculture to offer expert guidance on better seeds and improved tillage. Without such legislation, the economic takeoff that made the United States a major industrial power by the end of the century would have been prevented, or at least delayed.

Of course, these decisions might well have been reversed, even in the next presidential election. What could not be changed were the pro-slavery actions that Breckinridge was pledged to take. He certainly would have appointed pro-slavery justices to fill the Supreme Court vacancies that occurred in the Lincoln administration. Breckinridge also favored the admission of New Mexico and other national territories in the Southwest as slave states, so the balance between free and slave states would have been permanently destroyed. Even more alarming was the determination of Breckinridge Democrats to extend the empire of slavery by purchasing, or conquering, Cuba. Though such annexations would be hugely unpopular in the North, they could be undertaken on executive initiative, without Congressional authorization, and they could not be reversed by a subsequent election.

In short, a Breckinridge victory would have ensured that the United States remained a slaveholding nation even as all other civilized countries (except Brazil) had ended involuntary servitude. At the same time, because Northern opposition to slavery would have continued, the United States would have been wracked by strife for decades to come.

And that, of course, is why the election of 1860 was so important. Abraham Lincoln fully understood its significance. He knew that his election, like Union victory in the ensuing war, was vital to preserve the nation that he called "the last best hope of earth."

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; MUSEUM OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE / UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD

1912

Progressivism's High Tide

Theodore Roosevelt's decision to challenge Republican incumbent William Taft electrified disaffected voters—and sealed Democrat Woodrow Wilson's victory

BY JAMES CHACE

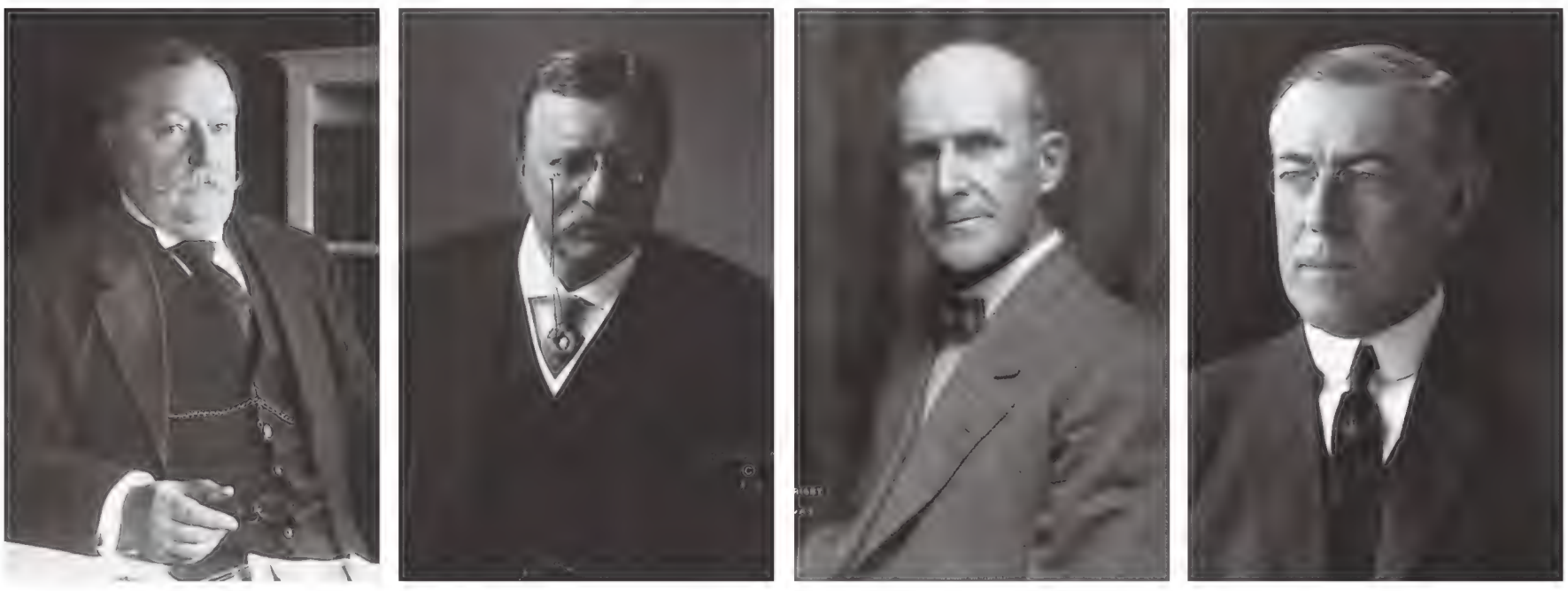
AGAINST A BACKDROP of massive change, the election of 1912 marked a defining moment in American history. The outcome of its fervid, four-way presidential contest not only set a new course for America at home and abroad but recast the terms of political debate for decades to come.

Running for the presidency were a reluctant incumbent, Republican William Howard Taft; Democrat Woodrow Wilson, the governor of New Jersey; the popular former Republican president Theodore Roosevelt, the candidate of the Progressives, nicknamed the Bull Moose Party; and the great standard-bearer for economic justice, Socialist Eugene V. Debs. Wilson won with 6,293,152 votes. Roosevelt came in second with 4,119,207 votes, then Taft with 3,486,333 votes. Debs won 900,369 votes, 6 percent of the total and more than double what he polled in 1908.

JAMES CHACE, author of 1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft & Debs—the Election that Changed the Country, *teaches at Bard.*

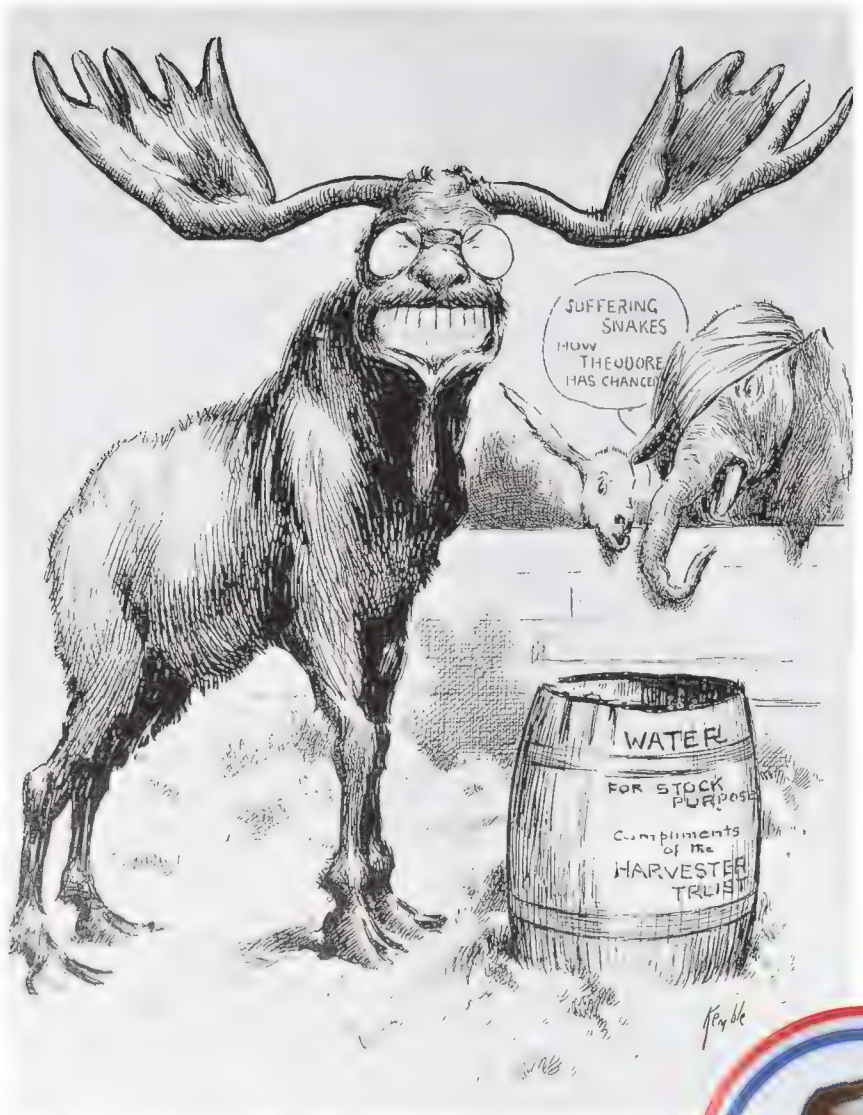
Debs' remarkable showing—the largest share of the popular vote ever won by a Socialist—was one sign of the reformist spirit sweeping the land. With the recent influx of new immigrants, condemned to work in squalid sweatshops and live in rat-infested tenements, journalists, social workers, ministers and middle-class Americans were outraged at corruption and bossism in the nation's cities. Both Roosevelt and Wilson recognized that they could not afford to be seen as holding back the tide of reform.

Most important was how to curb the excesses of big business, symbolized by the great trusts that had accompanied the rise of industrial capitalism. Roosevelt called for a "New Nationalism," in which government would regulate big business. Under Wilson's "New Freedom," government's task was to break up the trusts and restore competition to a world dominated by technology and mass markets. For Debs, America needed federal control of basic industries and a broad-based trade unionism. Taft called for better enforce-



UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD / CORBIS; BETTMANN / CORBIS; CORBIS (2)

From left: Republican incumbent William Howard Taft saw "a great public duty" in beating Progressive Teddy Roosevelt, ex-president and ex-friend; Socialist Eugene Debs won almost a million popular votes, while Democrat Wilson won more than six million.



ment of existing laws to restrain industry's excesses. Indeed, all four men struggled to balance 19th-century democratic values with emerging 20th-century institutions. For Roosevelt and Wilson, this meant exercising executive power. Between them they created the modern presidency.

Theodore Roosevelt had served two terms in the White House when he surrendered his presidency to his close friend William Howard Taft, following Roosevelt's 1904 campaign promise not to seek a third term. Although Taft had faithfully served Roosevelt as secretary of war and governor general of the Philippines, he had never sought the presidency and would have much preferred a seat on the Supreme Court, which Roosevelt twice offered to him. His wife, however, urged him to turn down the offers in order to eventually run for president. Believing that Taft would carry on his policies, Roosevelt anointed him as his successor.

Taft tried, but he was a poor politician and too often gave in to the most reactionary members of his party. Roosevelt, angry at Taft's seeming betrayal, challenged him for the nomination of the Republican Party. Although he won more state primaries than Taft, 72 of his delegates were disqualified by Elihu Root, the choice of the Taft camp for chairman of the Republican convention. Afterward, Root told a friend, "I care more for one button on Theodore Roosevelt's waistcoat than for Taft's whole body," but he was determined to preserve the conservative heart of the Republican Party. Taft was nominated.

In response, Roosevelt accepted the nomination of the Progressive Party, a new party cobbled together from progressive Republicans and others who shared their beliefs. The delegates to the Progressive convention largely consisted of social workers, schoolteachers and young businessmen, including an unprecedented number of immigrants, Jews and Catholics. It was also the first convention by a major political party with female delegates, among them the famous social reformer Jane Addams, who seconded Roosevelt's nomination. In Roosevelt's keynote address, he appealed to the religious fervor of the delegates by declaring: "We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord."

Wilson's anti-bossism hurt him at the Democratic convention. At one point he was preparing to withdraw his name from consideration, believing that he could not overcome the lead of Missouri's James Beauchamp "Champ" Clark, who headed the Democrats in the U.S. House of Representatives. Ironically, machine politicians from neighboring Illinois and Indiana finally made Wilson the nominee.

Whistle-stopping across the states, the candidates

Harper's Weekly chided Roosevelt for his corporate donors (top left); Taft campaigned reluctantly, while Debs' fiery oratory rallied Socialists; Progressives sang at their Chicago convention (left): "Follow! Follow! We will follow Roosevelt!"

BROWN BROTHERS (2); GRANGER COLLECTION; DAVID J & JANICE L. GRANT COLLECTION / CORBIS

fought over how to run the country in the age of industrial capitalism. Roosevelt believed that the problems of the nation—nasty factory working conditions, denial of women's suffrage, poor public health and the depredations by the trusts—demanded social justice. This required, he said, "an extension of government control" on a national scale. Wilson thought the states could better deal with these matters. Each candidate's positions touched the core of their beliefs. Wilson distrusted the corporate behemoths that he believed had destroyed the Jeffersonian America of small business and community life. He thought he could rid the country of that evil by restoring full competition. Roosevelt saw the ills visited upon the working class in the industrialized America that Alexander Hamilton had predicted; yet he knew that industrial capitalism could be only moderated, not eradicated.

Both Roosevelt and Wilson wanted the United States to play a major global role. Roosevelt, however, believed that the nation should work with other great powers to preserve the peace, and be willing to use military force if necessary. Wilson espoused a messianic internationalism that called on the United States to lead through a global organization (the League of Nations) that stressed arbitration, arms reduction and the pressure of world public opinion and, only as a last resort, the military enforcement of collective security.

For his part, Taft did little campaigning. He thought that Wilson would probably win. But he believed that he was right to keep a radical Roosevelt from leading the Republican Party. Had the charismatic Roosevelt received the Republican nomination, the GOP would likely have become a party of domestic reform and tough-minded internationalism. In that respect, Roosevelt represents the road not taken by American conservatism.

After his election as president, Wilson enacted many of the reforms Roosevelt had advocated. Encouraged by a Democratic Congress, Wilson reduced tariffs, established the Federal Trade Commission, supported the popular election of U.S. senators and achieved the passage of a graduated federal income tax, the Clayton Antitrust Act, and the Federal Reserve Act, which would monitor the nation's money supply and smooth out dangerous fluctuations.

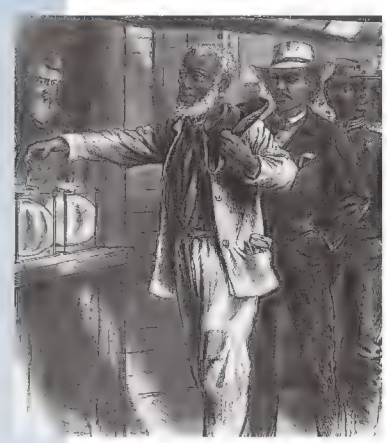
The competing approaches advocated by Roosevelt and Wilson—regulation or competition—still represent the two main schools of thought on how the government can best promote the welfare of the American people. The Taft-Roosevelt argument over the role of the executive—limited in Taft's approach, expansive in the view of Roosevelt and Wilson—still marks a quarrel between the two mainstream parties. And the debate over the role of the United States in the world continues to center on the preference between using military force or international law to maintain order. Above all, the contest between Roosevelt, Wilson, Taft and Debs recalls the great days of Jefferson and Hamilton, when leaders did not shy away from tackling the central question of America's exceptional destiny.

CULVER PICTURES; GRANGER COLLECTION; BETTMANN / CORBIS; HULTON ARCHIVE / GETTY IMAGES

LANDMARKS 1865–1919

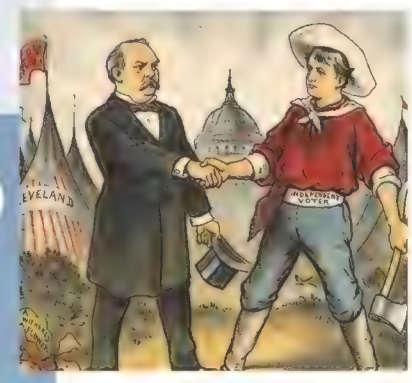
1867: The Naval Appropriations bill bans government employees from soliciting donations from naval yard workers—the first of many federal attempts to regulate campaign finance.

1870: Ratification of the 15th Amendment guarantees every male citizen's right to vote regardless of race, color or past servitude. But many states keep blacks from voting through various means.



1877: After a bitterly disputed election, a Congressionally appointed electoral commission chooses Republican Rutherford B. Hayes over Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, who had won nearly 270,000 more votes.

1892: Democrat Grover Cleveland becomes the only presidential candidate to have been elected (1884), defeated (1888), and then re-elected.



1905: Prodded by Progressive leader Governor Robert La Follette, Wisconsin passes the first comprehensive law creating a state presidential primary.

1900

1912: The Progressive Party candidate, ex-president Theodore Roosevelt, loses to Woodrow Wilson, but wins 88 electoral votes and almost 28 percent of the popular vote—the best showing of any third-party candidate.

1932

A New Deal Is Struck

Disparaged as a patrician lightweight, Franklin Roosevelt revived a disheartened nation and transformed the relationship of Americans to their government

BY GEOFFREY C. WARD

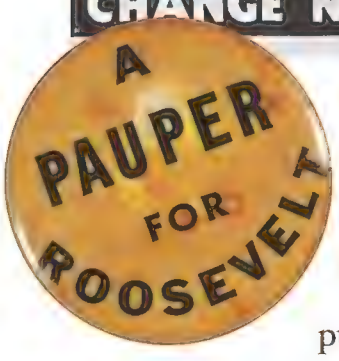
On the way to his 1933 inauguration, Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to make conversation with the man he defeated, Herbert Hoover. As they drove by the unfinished Commerce Department, FDR pointed to it and exclaimed, "Lovely steel!" Hoover remained silent.

BETTMANN / CORBIS

CONTINUED ON PAGE 61

EARLY IN 1932, Americans found themselves in the midst of the worst crisis since the Civil War. The Great Depression had cut U.S. industrial production in half, shattered public confidence and left one out of four wage earners without even the prospect of work. "In other periods of depression," former president Calvin Coolidge wrote, "it has always been possible to see some things which were solid and upon which you could base hope, but as I look about, I now see nothing to give ground for hope—nothing of man."

If the American experiment was to survive, decisive action was required, and when it became clear that Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York was the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, the influential columnist Walter Lippmann felt called upon to tell his readers that FDR was unlikely to provide it. "Franklin D. Roosevelt is no crusader," he wrote. "He is no tribune of the people. He is no enemy of entrenched privilege. He is a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for the office, would very much like to be President."



Lippmann ignored Roosevelt's invaluable apprenticeship as state senator, assistant secretary of the Navy, vice-presidential candidate and two-term governor. But the rest of his charges seemed plausible enough. How could a candidate with Roosevelt's aristocratic background—born and raised on his wealthy father's Hudson River estate and schooled at home by tutors and then at Groton and Harvard—possibly understand the hopes and fears of ordinary Americans? His celebrated charm struck many as evidence only of insincerity. His views on public policy, so far as they were known, appeared distinctly unsteady: on the campaign trail he cheerfully called for costly reforms and attacked Herbert Hoover, the Republican incumbent, for reckless spending, sometimes in the same speech.

On election day all that seemed to matter was that Roosevelt was not Hoover, whom most of the country now blamed for its misery. FDR easily carried 42 of the 48 states.

He would remain in office for a dozen years, longer than anyone else before or since, and would become more central to the life of his nation than any chief executive had ever been. He would profoundly alter both the relationship between Americans and their government and the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world. And he would do all this without a blueprint: "It is common sense to take a method and try it," he said. "If it fails, admit it

GEOFFREY C. WARD is the author of 13 books, including A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt.

BROWN BROTHERS; HULTON ARCHIVE / GETTY IMAGES; TIMELINE: CORBIS; BETTMANN / CORBIS; GRANGER COLLECTION; BETTMANN / CORBIS; CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE (FEBRUARY 27, 1951) / LIBRARY OF CONGRESS; BETTMANN / CORBIS

LANDMARKS 1920–1963

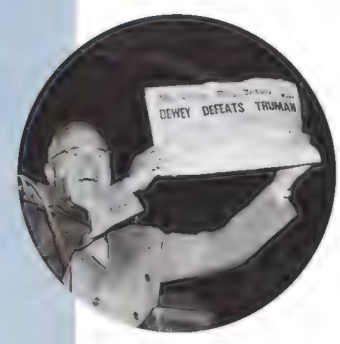
1920: Women get the vote with ratification of the 19th Amendment. Since 1980, women have voted at a higher rate than men.

1924: Presidential campaigns take to the airwaves. The Republicans (Calvin Coolidge) spend $120,000 advertising on the new medium of radio; the Democrats (John Davis), $40,000.

1932: Democrat nominee Franklin Roosevelt breaks with tradition by flying to his party's convention in Chicago to accept his nomination. In November, he crushes Republican Herbert Hoover, winning 472 electoral votes to Hoover's 59.

1936: Roosevelt thrashes Republican Alf Landon with 98.49 percent of the electoral votes and 60.8 percent of the popular vote, the most lopsided electoral win in U.S. history.

1940: America elects its only third-term president, as Roosevelt defeats Republican Wendell Willkie by an electoral vote margin of 449 to 82. Roosevelt beats Republican Thomas Dewey in 1944.



1948: Republican Thomas Dewey and Democrat Harry Truman buy the first TV campaign ads. Truman defeats Dewey, and Socialist Norman Thomas runs for the sixth and final time.

1950

1951: Ratification of the 22nd Amendment limits presidents to two terms.

1960: Democrat John F. Kennedy and Republican Richard M. Nixon square off in the first presidential debates, carried live on television (another first). Kennedy wins by 118,574 votes out of 68,838,219 cast—the smallest margin in U.S. history—and takes 303 electoral votes to Nixon's 219.

frankly and try another. But above all, try *something*."

Before FDR took power, ordinary citizens rarely encountered the federal government in peacetime except when they licked a postage stamp. There was no Social Security or unemployment compensation. There were no federal guarantees of bank deposits or regulation of the stock market, and there was no commitment to equal opportunity or high employment. All that and more would change during the years of the New Deal. And then, when the rest of the world had gone to war and fascism threatened to destroy both democracy and western civilization itself, Roosevelt first prepared a reluctant nation to fight back and then helped lead the Allies to victory. When he died in office in the spring of 1945, the United States was the most powerful country in the history of the world.

In July 1932, Hoover further alienated voters by using troops to disperse poor ex-soldiers and their families out of camps in the capital like this one.

Even FDR's closest aides sometimes found him maddening: he could be ruthless, secretive, deliberately misleading. (The journalist Elmer Davis once described FDR as a man who believed that "the shortest distance between two points is not a straight line but a corkscrew.") To achieve his objectives, Roosevelt often steered a sinuous course, tacking between orthodoxy and radicalism. He never quite reached his original destination: the economic crisis was eased by his policies, but it did not really end until the unprecedented economic boom set off by World War II.

But from the chilly March morning of his first inaugural, when he galvanized a despairing people by declaring that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," the central message of his personality and of his presidency remained gloriously consistent. He never wavered in his absolute conviction that no problem was so great that it could not be solved by ordinary Americans. As the columnist George Will wrote on the centennial of FDR's birth, it was literally unimaginable to Roosevelt "that things might end up badly. He had a Christian's faith that the universe is well constituted and an American's faith that history is a rising road." And because he believed that, Americans came to believe it too.

Roosevelt's election in 1932 turned out to have mattered as few other elections in this country ever have—and not incidentally, demonstrated the limitations of even the most eminent pundit to foresee the future.

Roosevelt created a stir by showing up at the July 1932 convention in Chicago to accept his party's nomination—breaching the time-honored custom of waiting at home. "Let it be from now on the task of our Party to break foolish traditions," he told the delegates.

CORBIS; CULVER PICTURES

1980

Clash of Temperament

Ronald Reagan's defeat of Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter in a sharply fought campaign triggered a deep political realignment that endures to this day

BY LOU CANNON

NINETEEN EIGHTY WAS NOT the United States' best year. Inflation was at double digits and interest rates at a near-record high. Fifty-two Americans had been held hostage by Iranian militants in the U.S. Embassy in Tehran since November 1979; an attempt to rescue them by force in April 1980 had ended in disaster and the deaths of eight American soldiers. Lacking the confidence of the American people, President Jimmy Carter realized that he could not be reelected unless voters could be persuaded that his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, was a dangerous alternative. At a time when tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were spiking over the latter's invasion of Afghanistan, Carter said that the election would determine "whether we have peace or war."

A self-assured Reagan believed he knew more than the experts about the staying power of America's cold war adversary. Convinced that the USSR was economically fragile, candidate Reagan advocated massive increases in U.S. military spending. Asked by editors and reporters of the *Wash-*

LOU CANNON is the author of President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime *and* Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power.

BETTMANN / CORBIS

In a televised debate on October 28, 1980, a self-assured Ronald Reagan scored points early, surprising Jimmy Carter by shaking his hand. By invoking the views of his daughter, Amy, on arms control, Carter made some voters feel he had trivialized a critical issue.

ington Post on June 18, 1980, if such an increase might intensify the nuclear arms race, Reagan expressed no qualms. "It would be of great benefit to the United States if we started a buildup," he said. As Reagan saw it, shortages and unrest would prevent the Soviet Union from competing effectively with the United States. He predicted that a U.S. buildup would force the Soviets, then embroiled in a bloody invasion of Afghanistan, to negotiate.

Even some of Reagan's loyalists wondered if history had passed him by. He had just missed wresting the Republican nomination from President Gerald Ford in 1976; now he was 69, hard of hearing, and seemingly vulnerable. Many Americans thought him too conservative. Others shared the view of Washington insider Clark Clifford that he was an "amiable dunce." Reagan was accustomed to such condescension. When he ran for governor of California in 1966, the incumbent Pat Brown, a Democratic heavyweight who four years earlier had won a second term by defeating Richard Nixon, scoffed at Reagan as a know-nothing actor upstaged by a chimpanzee in the 1951 film *Bedtime for Bonzo*. Reagan responded with self-deprecating wit. Asked what kind of a governor he would be, Reagan said, "I don't know. I've never played a governor."

In 1980, Reagan displayed a similar light touch. Debating Carter, who was upbraiding him in a debate for past criticisms of Medicare, Reagan responded, "There you go again." Then, in the closing days of the campaign, he stung Carter with a phrase borrowed from a 1934 radio "fireside chat" given by Reagan's first political icon, Franklin D. Roosevelt. "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" Reagan asked. "Is our nation stronger and more capable of leading the world toward peace and freedom or is it weaker?"

The answer came at the polls. Reagan won an electoral landslide, 489 to 49. He received 51 percent of the vote, to 41 percent for Carter, the worst for an incumbent president since Herbert Hoover. (Independent candidate John Anderson got 7 percent.) The GOP captured control of the Senate by scoring a net gain of 12 seats; it also gained 33 House seats.

The election proved a turning point. Political analyst Michael Barone has observed that there were more New Deal Democrats in the Senate in 1958 than when FDR was president, and it is no accident there are many more Reagan Republicans in the House today than at any time during the Reagan presidency. When Republicans won control of the House in 1994, their rallying cry was Representative Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America," a compendium of leftover proposals from one of Reagan's State of the Union speeches.

Reagan also tugged the Democratic Party toward the center. After he won re-election in 1984 against Walter Mondale in a 49-state landslide, it became clear that Democrats could not regain the White House under a banner of New Deal liberalism. Hence the rise of "New Democrats" such as Bill Clinton, who promised in his 1992 campaign to "end welfare as we know it." The subsequent competition between President Clinton and Congressional Republicans produced welfare reform, which Reagan had pioneered as governor of California.

In the 1980s, Reagan's resonant optimism rubbed off on America. He kept his campaign promises to increase military spending and cut taxes. To accomplish these goals, he forfeited a third pledge, to balance the budget; deficits became a habitual practice of conservative presidents. Reagan reduced government spending only at the margins, but he arguably accomplished a more important purpose: changing the terms of the debate. In his Inaugural Address on the West Front of the Capitol on January 20, 1981, Reagan said that in dealing with the nation's economic crisis, "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem." This became a mantra for Republicans and, in a twist of history, for reform-minded Democrats. By 1996, President Clinton would declare in his State of the Union address that the "era of big government is over."

But Reagan's great goal as president was to end communism as he knew it. Before becoming president he told Richard Allen (later his first national security adviser), "My idea of American policy toward the Soviet Union is simple and some would say simplistic. It is this: we win and they lose. What do you think of that?" Some historians argue that accumulated internal problems caused the Soviet demise. If

Public frustration with the fate of 52 American hostages still held in Iran and a failed mission in April 1980 to rescue them were critical factors in the defeat of Carter, who became the first Democratic incumbent president to lose since Grover Cleveland in 1888.

LEIF SKOOGFORS / CORBIS; GRANGER COLLECTION (2)

so, Reagan was able to exploit Soviet vulnerabilities because he realized, as he told the *Washington Post* before the 1980 election, that pressure from an intensified arms race would bring the Soviets to the bargaining table. President George W. Bush's national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, then a Russian expert, observed in November 1999 that the cold war was "frozen in time" when Reagan took office. "It was like there was this crazy aunt in the basement that no one wanted to talk about and that once you said she was there everyone said they knew it all along," Rice said.

Reagan apparently did know it all along. He believed in the power of freedom, at home and abroad, and in the strength and character of American people. He believed in the alliances of free nations that had won World War II, and he was convinced they could also win the cold war. For all the controversy over his policies, that unabashed commitment to freedom and unwavering optimism were critical to Reagan's overwhelming victory over Carter in 1980, and to his larger legacy. As Reagan's staunchest ally former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher wrote in the last week of his presidency, "From the strong fortress of his convictions, he set out to enlarge freedom the world over at a time when freedom was in retreat—and he succeeded."

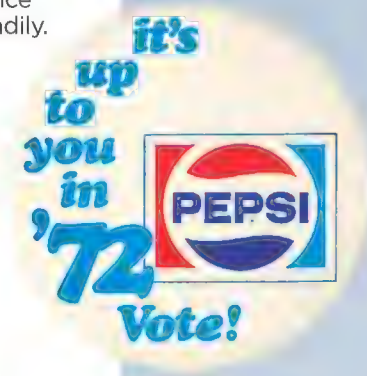
A born campaigner, Reagan poked fun at his image, saying at one event, "Sorry I'm late, but I was busy starting a war."

LANDMARKS 1964–2000

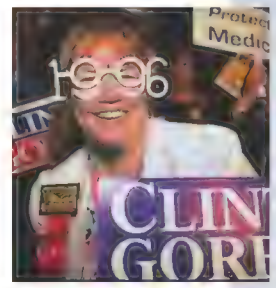
1964: Democrat Lyndon Johnson scores the biggest popular landslide against Republican Barry Goldwater, winning 61 percent of all votes and 90 percent of electoral votes.

1965: One year after the 24th Amendment strikes down poll taxes (which discouraged poorer blacks from voting), President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act, which bans literacy tests and commits the federal government to help register black voters.

1971: The 26th Amendment lowers the voting age from 21 to 18. Only half the 11 million newly eligible voters go to the polls in the 1972 election—still a high-water mark of the youth vote, which has since declined steadily.



1984: Republican Ronald Reagan beats Democrat Walter Mondale to become one of only two presidential candidates to win 49 states (the other was Nixon in 1972).



1996: Only 49.1 percent of the voting-age population goes to vote—the lowest voter turnout since 1924—as Democrat Bill Clinton defeats Republican Bob Dole.

2000: Following a dispute over ballots ultimately referred to the Supreme Court, Republican George W. Bush is chosen president over Democrat Al Gore—only the fourth time in U.S. history that the electoral college seats a candidate who won fewer popular votes, but the 18th time since 1824 that a president takes office without a popular majority.

2000

CORBIS; TIMELINE: MUSEUM OF AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE / UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD; BETTMANN / CORBIS; ROBERT MAASS / CORBIS; MAYER ROBERT / CORBIS SYGMA; SOQUI TED / CORBIS SYGMA; OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY; SOQUI TED / CORBIS SYGMA

Fighting for Foxes

A disastrous chain of events nearly wiped out California's diminutive island fox. Scientists hope it's not too late to undo the damage

BY ADELE CONOVER AND ANDREW CURRY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LYNDA RICHARDSON

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS FOX IS one of America's most photogenic creatures—and one of its most endangered. The tiny fox is North America's smallest wild canid, with adults weighing a mere four pounds, and for thousands of years it had the run of six of the eight Channel Islands, which lie 12 to 70 miles off the Southern California coast. The foxes have "not a foe to prey upon them," a biologist wrote on a 1920s Channel Islands expedition. "Casualties are rare and they must live out their natural lives unmolested." As recently as 1994, scientists estimated that more than 1,500 foxes lived on Santa Cruz Island, the biggest in the chain. Today, however, only about 80 remain in the wild there. On San Miguel and Santa Rosa islands the fox is considered extinct in the wild. It was placed on the federal endangered species list this past March.

National Park Service biologists (above, Tim Coonan) keep dozens of foxes in cages on Santa Cruz Island, which is owned by the Park Service and the Nature Conservancy. San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Anacapa and Santa Barbara islands are U.S. parkland. The Navy owns San Nicolas and San Clemente. A conservation group owns most of Catalina, home to 3,500 people.

The animal's astonishing decline testifies to the fragility of ecosystems, as does the intense effort under way to reestablish the animal in its native habitat. Island mammals, because they're cut off from other environments, are particularly sensitive to disruptions in the balance of predators and prey, and it was a series of seemingly unrelated events on the northern Channel Islands that cascaded—with almost no warning—to the present crisis. "If you had asked me back in the 1980s if island foxes would be listed as an endangered species today, I would have said you're crazy because there's nothing out there that threatens their extinction," says Paul Collins, a curator of vertebrate zoology at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. "Obviously, things have changed dramatically."

At first, the population plunge baffled scientists, who thought the animals were dying from disease. But a discovery made in 1994 by Gary Roemer, then a graduate student at the University of California at Los Angeles who was conducting field research on Santa Cruz Island, provided the definitive clue. Examining a fox corpse, he noticed wounds that could have been made only by a golden eagle.

Roemer initially assumed that the killing of the fox was an aberration. But soon, he says, evidence to the contrary was unmistakable: "Ninety percent of fox carcasses I found were victims of golden eagle predation." And the problem was getting worse. The fox's numbers would fall 95 percent in just five years. On Santa Rosa Island, for instance, the population went from more than 1,500 foxes in 1994 to 14 in 2000. By then, scientists and conservationists had already begun to capture the few remaining foxes on the northern Channel Islands and started breeding them in captivity.

Golden eagles had colonized the area in the early 1990s, drawn partly by easy prey—especially baby feral pigs, which have flourished on the islands since ranchers introduced them in the 1850s. The birds have wreaked the heaviest toll on foxes on the northern islands of Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz and San Miguel. (On populated Catalina, canine distemper from domestic dogs has killed many of the foxes. The fox is

MAP: MIKE REAGAN

holding its own on San Nicolas and San Clemente islands.) Still, there was more to the golden eagles' arrival than an abundance of pork. The birds had long been kept away by bald eagles, which are highly territorial. The balds, once the islands' top predators, ignored the foxes, subsisting mainly on fish, seal carcasses and fish-eating predators like sea gulls.

But the bald eagle began to disappear in the 1950s, the victim of another unintended consequence. From 1947 to 1971, the Montrose Chemical Corporation—at the time the world's largest manufacturer of DDT—dumped pesticide-laced wastewater into the Los Angeles sewer system, which empties into the ocean. The dumping left tons of DDT-contaminated sediment on the ocean floor near the Channel Islands, and the chemical moved up through the food chain. Small quantities of DDE, a breakdown product of DDT, accumulated in fish and fish-eating birds and mammals, and were then concentrated in the bodies of top predators such as eagles and pelicans. DDE, scientists say, makes eggshells so thin and porous that they break during incubation or causes the eggs to dry out and fail to hatch. By 1960, bald eagles had vanished from the islands.

Though DDT was banned in 1972 and bald eagle populations across the United States have slowly begun to recover, massive amounts of pesticide-contaminated sediment off the California coast near Los Angeles have kept the birds from flourishing in the Channel Islands on their own. About three dozen bald eagles are known to nest in the islands, but some biologists speculate that it may be generations before bald eagle eggs there are healthy enough to hatch unaided. That's partly because DDE is slow to break down. "[DDE] is going to be there for a long time," Collins says; it could be a problem for another century.

The bald eagles' disappearance, scientists speculate, left an opening for the golden eagles. Scientists aren't sure why goldens took so long to colonize the islands, but by the mid-1990s the birds had become a nightmare for the little foxes. The eagles eat almost anything. Analyses of their nests have shown that the islands have served as a buffet for golden eagles. "We found remains of everything from mead-

Island fox populations have been devastated by golden eagles (like the one below), which also eat baby feral pigs (above). To reestablish the fox, scientists are relocating the golden eagles to the mainland and plan to rid the island of pigs by killing them.

BOTTOM: TOM & PAT LEESON

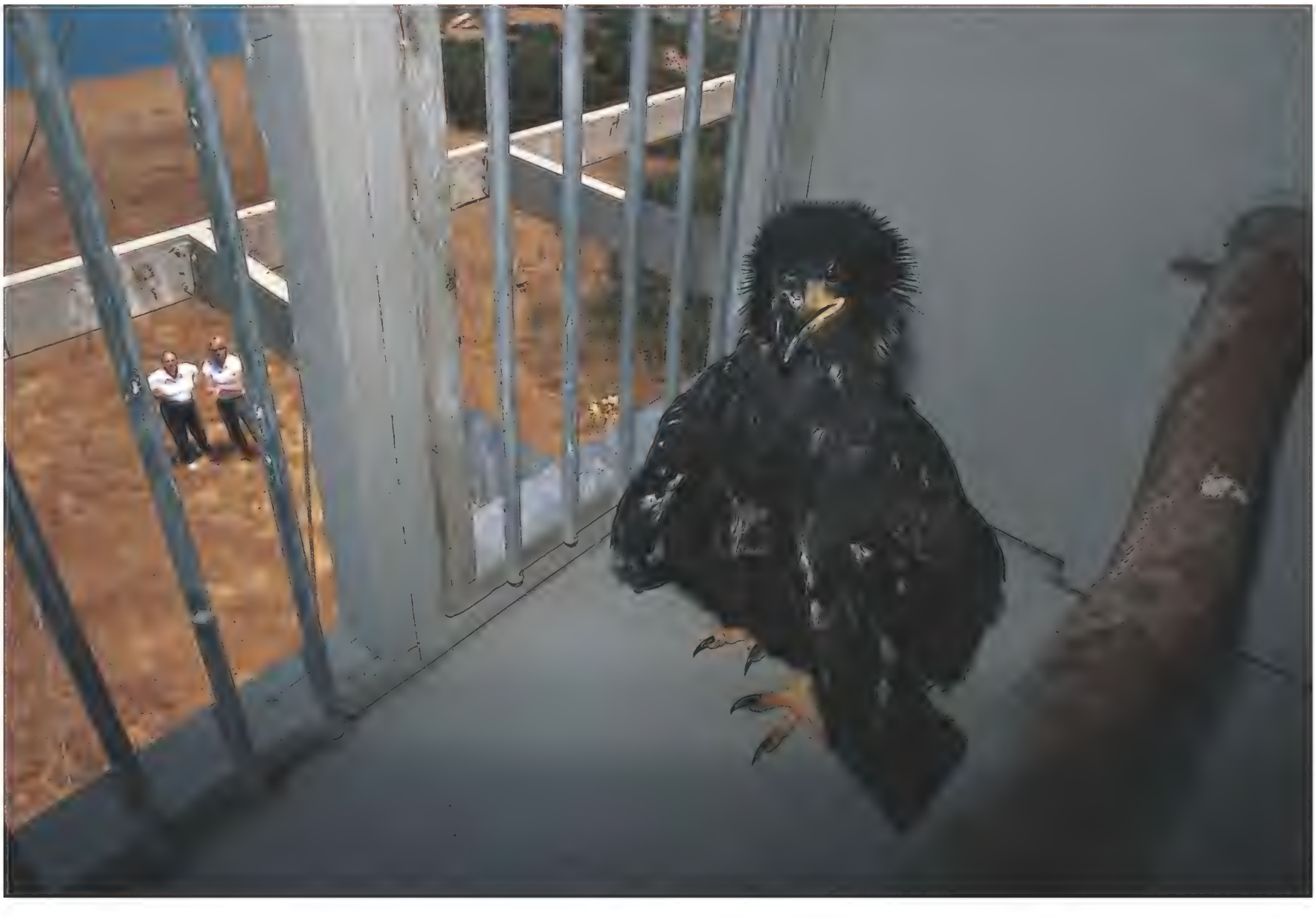
owlarks to mule deer fawns," Roemer says. "It doesn't take much to change the overall way in which an ecosystem is structured," Collins says.

One approach to reestablishing the island fox on the northern Channel Islands is to remove the golden eagles and their primary food source, the feral piglets. In 1999, biologists started laboriously capturing and relocating the birds using nets and piglets as bait. The eagles proved a formidable adversary, often passing up free meals if they suspected a trap. "If these golden eagles see you a mile and a half away, they'll fly away over the nearest ridge and they are gone," says Brian Latta, lead field biologist with the Predatory Bird Research Group at the University of California at Santa Cruz. "You will not find them sitting on a post or a perch watching you. They are incredibly smart." It took five years to capture 37 eagles and release them east of California's Sierra Nevada; from there, some have flown as far away as Idaho and Oregon. So far, the eagles banished from the islands have stayed away. "At release sites in Northern California there are plenty of ground squirrels" for the transplanted golden eagles, says Tim Coonan, a wildlife biologist with the National Park Service. It's as if, Coonan adds, the relocated eagles "have gone to heaven."

Scientists hope that eliminating feral pigs will deter new golden eagles from making the islands their home. Park officials say that simply controlling the pig population is unrealistic; the animals breed so quickly they can double their number every four months. And because the pigs may carry diseases, biologists are loath to move them to the mainland, where they might infect domestic stock. Instead, the Park Service and the Nature Conservancy have built 45 miles of pig-proof fencing on Santa Cruz Island to corral pigs, which will be shot and killed. With as many as 5,000 feral pigs already contained on Santa Cruz, Coonan says exterminating the animals could take as long as two years.

Another way to bring back the fox is to reestablish the bald eagle. On Santa Cruz Island, scientists are releasing 12-week-old birds into the wild. And on Santa Catalina, scientists are closely monitoring bald eagle nests and removing new eggs to

Researchers are gradually reintroducing bald eagles (above, Peter Sharpe, with a juvenile bird) to Santa Cruz Island, a crucial step in saving island foxes. The young birds are kept in cage-topped towers until they are able to fly and fend for themselves.



ROBERT GALLAGHER

Wildlife researchers in the Channel Islands (Sharpe, dangling from a helicopter, nabs bald eagle eggs from a nest on Santa Catalina) will have spent millions of dollars to overcome ecological damage traceable to decades-old DDT waste.

give them a better chance of hatching, in a laboratory. The scientists replace the stolen eggs with fakes, which the birds incubate. Making the switch is no easy feat. Wildlife biologist Peter Sharpe, nicknamed the Dope on a Rope by his colleagues for his derring-do, has hung over a nest by a 100-foot rope from a hovering helicopter. The eggs, stored in portable incubators and flown to the San Francisco Zoo, are put in other incubators. Once chicks hatch—and only 18 percent do—the same high-flying technique is used to take them back to their nests. The proud parents usually notice. "They sort of look at [the chick] sideways, then they try to sit on it, raise it, feed it," says Sharpe. The high jinks seem to be paying off. The Channel Islands today are home to 15 juvenile bald eagles.

Whether the bald eagles are directly responsible for driving away golden eagles is uncertain, but at least three golden eagle pairs had abandoned their nests on Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa islands as of April 2004. "We haven't seen a new golden eagle since February 2004," says Coonan.

Even so, the islands are still no place for foxes. In late November 2003, after 29 golden eagles had been removed from Santa Cruz, the biologists released nine captive-reared, radio-collared Channel Islands foxes. Five were killed by golden eagles between December 21, 2003, and January 4, 2004. "The little foxes spent three or so weeks in the field, but when the goldens killed some of them, we had to bring them in," Coonan says.

By February 2004, the remaining captive-bred foxes were in pens on Santa Cruz, cared for by biologists with the National Park Service, which owns part of the island chain. Until their fate is more secure, they will stay caged, enjoying magnificent views from their mesh enclosures. Today on Santa Cruz Island, 44 captive foxes look out on a lilac-covered hill to the south and a stand of eucalyptus trees to the north. Park officials hope that the designation of the animal as an endangered species will attract attention—and funding—to the recovery project, which the Park Service estimates may cost more than a million dollars next year.

Species on the brink of extinction rarely make rapid recoveries. But scientists and conservationists are cautiously optimistic that the foxes on the northern Channel Islands have a chance, now that steps to restore some of the traditional balance to the islands' animal communities have been taken. "Perhaps we don't have to wait for a lengthy time for things to turn around," says Channel Islands National Park superintendent Russell Galipeau. "[I hope] we will live to see the results."

ADELE CONOVER is a longtime contributor. ANDREW CURRY is profiled in the Editor's Note (p. 12). LYNDA RICHARDSON is a wildlife photographer based in Richmond, Virginia.

ULTIMATE

At age 33 in 1917, the Harvard-trained lawyer and Major League baseball player Eddie Grant volunteered to serve in World War I. He fought as he'd played: selflessly

BY KEVIN COYNE

KEVIN COYNE COLLECTION; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

SACRIFICE

A CHILL RAIN, half sleet at times, had fallen through the night in the craggy ravines of France's Argonne Forest. Now, at dawn, fog hung low over the ground. Pale light seeped in from a sun rising somewhere out of sight. Capt. Eddie Grant and the men of his weary infantry company roused themselves from their damp sleep beside a muddy stream. Surrounded by a dense wall of trees whose leaves had just begun to yellow, they could see no farther than a grenade's throw ahead.

Somewhere out there Germans waited in an elaborate network of trenches they had occupied for four years. Behind Grant and the men of Company H stretched a trail of dead and dying soldiers. The Americans had covered three miles in six days, lightning speed in a war that often measured victories in yards, but they still had many more miles to go, through the most unyielding and unforgiving territory along the Western Front. Their orders, from the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, Gen. John J. Pershing himself, were to move forward, only forward, at all cost.

Eddie Grant had been in France the length of a baseball season, and now was the time of year—the first week of October 1918—when his attention would normally have turned toward the World Series. Five Octobers ago he had played in one himself, with John McGraw's New York Giants. "Attorney Eddie Grant, came through from second base like the Twentieth Century Limited traveling past a flag station," the *New York Times* described his appearance as a pinch runner in the tenth inning of the second game. He scored, winning the game for the Giants, but it was the only one the team would win in the Series; the Philadelphia Athletics would sweep the next three.

Sportswriters called him names like "Attorney Grant" or "Harvard Eddie." In an era when many ballplayers were rough-edged illiterates with plow-calloused hands, Grant's unusual academic

Batting for the New York Giants in 1914 (left), Eddie Grant was described by one baseball writer as "mediocre offensively . . . but defensively reliable." Three years later, Grant would join officer training school in upstate New York (right).

KAREN KUBARA COLLECTION

pedigree became his defining characteristic, like pitcher Mordecai Brown's three fingers, pitcher Chief Bender's Chippewa heritage, or outfielder Wee Willie Keeler's height. Grant had started his professional career in 1905, before graduating from Harvard, to which he returned in the off-seasons to finish law school. While his teammates crowded saloons after games, Grant went to the opera or the theater. On long train rides to Chicago and St. Louis, he passed up the card games for hours alone with his pipe and a book. Other players often asked him—the only member of the Massachusetts bar able to hit a big-league curveball—for advice on their contracts. He was better in the field—third base mostly—than he was at bat, although in 1909 he did get seven hits in a row in a double-header against two future Hall of Famers, Christy Mathewson and Rube Marquard.

GRANT WAS TALL AND RANGY, with a hangdog look about him—jug ears, receding chin, freckles—and a New Englander's native reserve. His eyes were a piercing blue; his sense of humor was dry, not broad. "My grandfather, General Grant, was a little rough on you down here when they got him riled," he once taunted a crowd giving him a hard time at an exhibition game in Texas (though he was no relation to the Union Army hero). Toward the end of his career, and during his time in the Army, Eddie Grant's taciturnity deepened into something more like melancholy. In a dugout in France one day, he pulled out a small picture from the diary he carried with him, and showed it to his commander, another Harvard man, Maj. DeLancey Jay. It was a portrait of a pretty young woman in a prim, high-necked suit with a platter-size hat and a wistful, vaguely aristocratic gaze.

"This is a picture of my wife," he told Jay, quietly and unexpectedly announcing the existence of a woman no one in his regiment had ever heard him speak of before.

Like many of his comrades in the polyglot 77th Division—from fresh-off-the-boat Italian masons to college men like himself—Grant was in France because he had asked to come, not because he had been told to go. When America entered the Great War in April 1917, he had every reason to watch from the bleachers: at 33 and more than a year out of baseball, he was beyond the draft's reach, working as a lawyer in New York City. But he believed in the cause his country had been called to by his fellow Ivy League idealist President Woodrow Wilson—a crusade to make the world "safe for democracy." By May, along with law school classmate Charles Whittlesey, he was wrapping puttees around his shins at officer training camp.

NOW IT WAS that same former classmate Grant was determined to rescue on this wet October day in the Argonne. Major Whittlesey commanded what was already being called the Lost Battalion—550 soldiers who, in the confused headlong rush toward the enemy three days before, had pushed more than half a mile farther than the troops on either flank, so far ahead, in fact, that they found themselves stranded in a small valley, encircled by Germans. German marksmen were picking them off almost at will, a hellish microcosm of a brutal war that was claiming casualties at a horrific rate. The men of the Lost Battalion were so low on food and ammunition that they risked sniper fire to scavenge rations and cartridges from the fallen bodies of their dead. Using their own blood for ink, they wrote farewell messages on scraps of bandages and on shirttails. The only way for them to communicate with other Americans was by carrier pigeon.

"Men are suffering from hunger and exposure; and the wounded are in very bad condition," Whittlesey had reported the previous morning in a message carried by one of his last pigeons. "Cannot support be sent at once?"

So far, every attempt to reach Whittlesey and his men had been turned back, and three of the planes that had tried to spot them from above had been shot down.

Artillery barrages aimed at the Germans had fallen instead on the Americans, and food drops meant for the Americans had landed on the Germans. Pershing's patience was wearing thin. "I direct that a vigorous effort be made this afternoon to relieve the companies on the left of the 77th Division that are cut off," he had ordered the morning of Saturday, October 5, 1918.

It was the kind of stern order that the war's long stalemate had driven commanders to issue—asking their men to make almost suicidal runs into the teeth of the enemy. Eddie Grant was sitting on a stump, coughing from the bronchitis that he could have used as a ticket off the line and barely able to drink a cup of coffee, when word came to move out and rescue the Lost Battalion.

Many of the Victorian houses that line the streets of Franklin, Massachusetts, were built by Eddie Grant's father, including his own (below). An athletic field at Franklin's Dean College (which Grant attended when it was Dean Academy) bears Grant's name.

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EDWARD LESLIE GRANT—in his family he was often called Les—was born in 1883 in the town of Franklin, Massachusetts, halfway between Boston and Providence, the son of a

KEVIN COYNE is the author most recently of Marching Home: To War and Back with the Men of One American Town *(2003).*

Eddie Grant (in bow tie on the right) coached Harvard's 1906 freshman basketball team. His name is inscribed in Harvard's Memorial Church along with 412 other Harvard men who died in World War I, nearly 20 times the number who died in Vietnam.

KAREN KUBARA COLLECTION

contractor who built many of the Victorian houses that still line its streets today. His baseball career began at a local prep school, Dean Academy, and continued on the freshman team at Harvard. He was eager to join the varsity—then perhaps the best collegiate team in the nation—when he returned as a sophomore, but word had reached school officials that he had earned $40 plus room and board for a summer playing semipro ball in North Carolina, costing him his intercollegiate eligibility. He played varsity basketball instead, starred on the intramural baseball teams, and grew impatient to graduate and pursue the unique dual career path he envisioned for himself—professional baseball and the law.

"I would respectfully petition to be allowed to take six and one half courses during the first half of the ensuing year," he wrote to one of Harvard's deans in September 1904. "I wish to do this as this number will give me just enough for my degree and I may be enabled to enter the Law School next year."

By the end of the spring semester in 1905 he needed but one more course. He read Dante for his Italian class that summer, played semipro ball in nearby Lynn, and made a brief Major League debut. When the Cleveland Indians came to play the Boston Red Sox in August, their star second baseman, future Hall of Famer Napoleon Lajoie, was sidelined with an infected leg, and the team picked up Grant as a substitute. He had three hits in his first game—and "showed promise as a second baseman," according to the *New York Times*—but got none in his second, and he returned to Lynn when Cleveland moved on.

Grant was a student of modest achievement—just above a C average in that age before grade inflation—and wide interests. He studied Greek, Latin, German and Italian, as well as history and economics; and like all undergraduates, he was bathed in the heady idealism championed by a faculty that had a defining influence on America's moral and intellectual climate. To pass through Harvard in Grant's era, as Walter Lippmann, T. S. Eliot and W.E.B. Du Bois did; to study under such intellectual giants as George Santayana, Josiah Royce, William James, Hugo Münsterberg and George Herbert Palmer; to grow to political awareness under the progressive

leadership of one of Harvard's proudest graduates, President Theodore Roosevelt (class of 1880), was to acquire almost inevitably a belief that humanity was evolving toward a more perfect state and that the duty of all individuals was to devote themselves, even to sacrifice themselves if necessary, to that higher cause.

"The social order of the future is neither that of paternalism nor that of individualism, but that of fraternalism," declared clergyman Lyman Abbot, a baccalaureate speaker at Grant's graduation in June 1906. "It will be a social order in which each member of society will recognize that the interest of one is the interest of all."

When Grant started law school, one of the first people he befriended was Charles Whittlesey, a tall, bespectacled Williams College graduate with the same prim schoolmaster's visage as Woodrow Wilson. They often sat talking on the law school steps, strolled around Cambridge Common and occasionally ventured into Boston together. In the spring of 1906, Grant signed on in the minors with the Jersey City Skeeters and led the Eastern League with a .322 average. The Philadelphia Nationals, also known as the Phillies, signed him in 1907, and by 1908 he was their regular third baseman. By 1909, he was their leadoff batter, with 170 hits, second in the National League.

In those years, baseball was assuming its dimensions as the national pastime. The first World Series had been played just six years earlier, attendance was soaring at new stadiums that were rising everywhere, and "Take Me Out to the Ball Game"—written in 1908—seemed on everyone's lips. "The 'mob and hoodlums' that hurled epithets and missiles at the umpire, that waited with stones outside the ball grounds to make it pleasant for the opposing nine, have passed away," *Pearson's Magazine* noted in 1909. "The 'rowdies' who filled the air with profanity, who made the game a slugging match in which brute strength and arrogance were the only assets—they, too, have departed."

A new kind of player was emerging, as well, the magazine claimed: "clear-brained, clear-eyed young men" who play the game "on lines that are purely scientific." Leading examples of these "Transformers of Baseball," as it dubbed them, were Christy Mathewson, Honus Wagner, Frank Chance, Johnny Evers and the "Harvard man . . . playing third base with the Philadelphia Nationals," Eddie Grant.

"There are more college men playing ball every year, but they are no higher type than most of the non-college men," Grant modestly told *Pearson's*.

Baseball was a different game then, built more on speed and finesse than power. The bunt was an important strategic tool, and Grant was adept on both sides of it—laying them down and scooping them up. "As a batter Grant was noted for his ability to sacrifice," a fellow player, Mike Donlin, once ob-

A lifetime .249 hitter, Grant played third base and shortstop for the Cincinnati Reds from 1911 until halfway through the 1913 season, when he was traded to the New York Giants.

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served, "and he could lay back near third base and still throw out the fastest runners after they had bunted."

Near the end of the 1910 season, the bachelor third baseman walked into a Philadelphia drugstore one afternoon to buy some cigars. As the clerk waited on him, a tall, handsome young woman came in. "Have you ever happened to meet Miss Soest, Mr. Grant?" the clerk asked. He hadn't, but he was more than happy to do so. She was 20, her name was Irene, and they walked along the street together that very afternoon. He began to call at her house, where her mother had yet to hear the news that baseball players these days were gentlemen, not ruffians. After the season ended, Grant came back to Philadelphia to spend Thanksgiving with Irene, and then Christmas too, when he gave her a diamond to announce an engagement her mother only grudgingly approved. They were married February 28, 1911, at Epiphany Chapel at 17th and Race, where Irene had taught Sunday school and was active in the Girls' Friendly Society. "On that day my blessed sweetheart became my wife," he later wrote. "How radiant and happy she was."

The newlyweds planned to live near Irene's mother, but Grant was traded to Cincinnati before the new season started. The move didn't trouble him much—he was in love, and he expected 1911 to be his last year in baseball. After the season, he and Irene would settle in Boston where he would devote himself to his fledgling law practice. Late in November, he took his young bride into Boston from their apartment in Brookline and bought her a moleskin stole and a muff. They were going to his alma mater for the big football game with Yale, and he wanted her to stay warm in the windswept bowl of Soldiers Field. But the morning of the game, not quite nine months since their wedding, Irene awoke at seven complaining of pain around her heart. "She died in his arms before aid could reach her," the obituary in a Philadelphia newspaper reported. The typhoid fever she had contracted as a girl, the doctors surmised, must have left undetected damage.

"The terrible shock and the ending of a truly great love did something to Eddie from which he never recovered," his sister Florence Grant Robinson would later write. She never heard him speak Irene's name again. The day after a family Christmas in Franklin that year, he took his gun, his fishing gear and his copy of Emerson's essays up to a camp in New Hampshire, where he spent several solitary weeks contemplating his loss. He also filled a leather-bound notebook with a tender memoir of his life with Irene.

"The happiest moment was when I put the ring upon her finger," he wrote about their wedding day. "She was to be mine for all time—not only in this life but in the life to come. And then after signing a book and receiving happy wishes we were ready to start on our life together—all too short it was to be."

Eddie Grant went back to Cincinnati after all, alone, and

Not quite nine months into her marriage, Irene Grant died suddenly of heart disease. "She was to be mine for all time," Grant wrote, "not only in this life but in the life to come."

EVENING TELEGRAPH, *PHILADELPHIA (NOVEMBER 28, 1911)*

IA, TUESDAY, NOVE

Died in Husband's Arms

MRS. EDWARD L. GRANT

Before becoming the bride of the Phillies' former third baseman last February she was Miss Irene Soest, of this city. They were residing at Brookline, Mass., where Mrs. Grant was stricken with heart disease last Saturday and died in her husband's arms before a physician could be summoned.

TO BURY BALL PLAYER'S BRIDE

Funeral of Mrs. "Eddie" Grant Will Be Held Tomorrow.

The funeral of Mrs. Irene Soest Grant, wife of "Eddie" Grant, former third baseman of the Phillies, will be held tomorrow afternoon from the home of her parents, No. 2549 North Sixteenth street. The clergyman, Rev. Philip E. Steinmetz, who married her to the baseball player on February 28, will officiate at the funeral services.

The body of the young woman was brought to this city yesterday. Heart disease caused her death last Saturday as she was performing household duties at her home in Brookline, Mass., where her husband practices law after the close of the baseball season. She died

played another season and a half there before the Giants, the dominant team in the National League, acquired him in the middle of the 1913 season. Manager John McGraw valued both his hands and his brain, relying on him as a utility man and a bench coach. Grant spent some time at every position in the infield, from his accustomed third base all the way around the horn to first, and hit for his highest full-season average ever (.277) in 1914. His numbers slipped in 1915, and he retired at the end of the season at age 32. He spent 1916 dabbling in law and coaching a Giants farm team in New Jersey.

As Grant's baseball career was tailing off, the Great War in Europe was raging, and America's entry into it began to appear ever more likely. College students and businessmen were being recruited into what came to be called the Plattsburg movement—named for the Plattsburg Barracks in upstate New York—to sign up for private officer training camps started by another Harvard man, Gen. Leonard Wood, championed by Theodore Roosevelt, and meant to foster a well-trained officer corps. One-third of the 1,200 men who attended the first camp were from Harvard. The movement attracted many of Grant's peers, adventurous idealists who had been drilled with the dictum of Harvard's Josiah Royce that the highest good could be achieved only by "the willing and practical and thoroughgoing devotion of a person to a cause."

Grant found his cause when America entered the war in April 1917, and he signed up immediately for Plattsburg—"keen for war's grim game," as the *New York World* reported in a photo spread about prominent enlistees. Theodore Roosevelt Jr. was at camp with him, along with Charles Whittlesey. "I am going to try to be an officer," Grant wrote a friend. "I don't know how much of a success I shall make at it. I had determined from the start to be in this war if it came to us, and if I am not successful as an officer I shall enlist as a private, for I believe there is no greater duty that I owe for being that which I am—an American citizen."

In April 1918, Grant landed in France as a captain with Company H of the 307th Infantry Regiment in the 77th Division, the so-called Statue of Liberty Division from New York City. "I want also to impress upon you that I am not the least bit pessimistic about this. And can't see why any of you should be," he wrote to his sister Florence. "Why the Germans won't be able to win a game from us. We would knock old Hindenburg out of the box in the first inning."

The war's brutal toll quickly belied such optimism. Grant kept a diary his first few months in France but stopped abruptly on July 30, as his unit neared more serious action. "I look forward to staying here to the end," he wrote in his last entry. "All I hope is that I am lucky enough to do that." The men from Company H had been falling steadily—blasted by German shells, riddled by nests of machine gunners, picked off by snipers, bayoneted in hand-to-hand combat. Marini was dead,

Tagged "Galloping Charlie" by his men for his long legs, Grant's law school classmate Maj. Charles Whittlesey won the Medal of Honor for leading the legendary Lost Battalion.

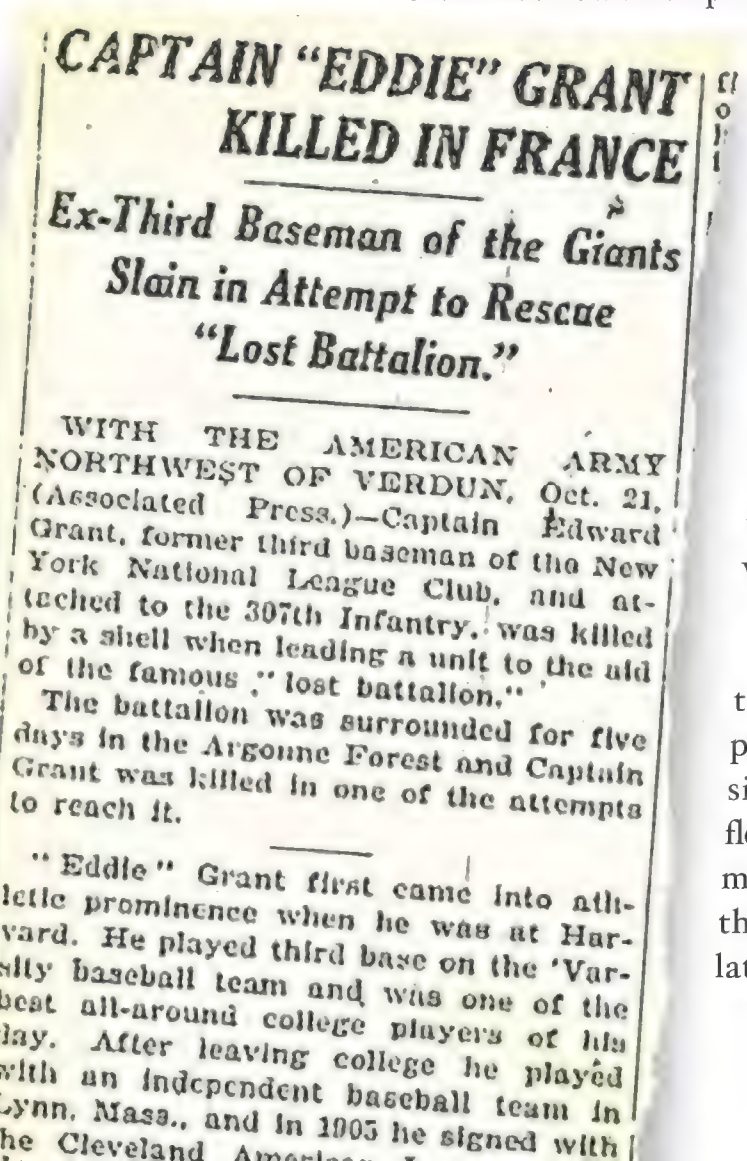
U.S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

U.S. troops fighting in the Argonne Forest in the fall of 1918 faced fierce resistance: in six weeks, the American Expeditionary Forces lost 26,277 men (95,786 were wounded). Below: Eddie Grant's death was reported in the October 22, 1918, *New York Times*.

and Stein and Romanchuk and McCallister and Farrell and Dubinsky. Germany was collapsing at the top, but its soldiers were still killing their enemies as if it were 1914. "To avoid further bloodshed, the German government requests the President to arrange the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land, by sea and in the air," the German chancellor had cabled Woodrow Wilson on October 4.

OF COURSE Grant and the rest of Company H knew nothing of these high-level discussions. On the morning of October 5, they were concerned only with their more immediate mission to rescue Whittlesey's Lost Battalion.

Grant tossed aside the dregs of his coffee and gathered his men. He walked wearily with the column, leading them through the hills and trees toward the valley where his classmate was stranded. They hadn't gotten too far when they met two stretcher-bearers carrying a familiar figure, Maj. DeLancey Jay, the officer to whom he had once shown Irene's picture. Jay had been wounded trying to do just what Grant was now attempting.



CAPTAIN "EDDIE" GRANT KILLED IN FRANCE

Ex-Third Baseman of the Giants Slain in Attempt to Rescue "Lost Battalion."

WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY NORTHWEST OF VERDUN, Oct. 21. (Associated Press.)—Captain Edward Grant, former third baseman of the New York National League Club, and attached to the 307th Infantry, was killed by a shell when leading a unit to the aid of the famous "lost battalion."

The battalion was surrounded for five days in the Argonne Forest and Captain Grant was killed in one of the attempts to reach it.

"Eddie" Grant first came into athletic prominence when he was at Harvard. He played third base on the 'Varsity baseball team and was one of the best all-around college players of his day. After leaving college he played with an independent baseball team in Lynn, Mass., and in 1905 he signed with the Cleveland

"Take command of the battalion," Jay ordered Grant, now the senior surviving officer.

As Jay was carried back, Grant moved forward. He was soon stopped again when a German shell ripped through the curtain of yellowing leaves. His lieutenant fell.

"Flop, everybody!" he shouted, trying to bring order to the chaos. He stayed standing himself, though, and called for help for the wounded man.

"Stretcher! Stretcher! Stretcher!"

A second shell tore through the trees, and as it exploded a jagged piece of shrapnel sliced into Grant's side, dropping him to the forest floor, dead in an instant. Folded in his map case was a map of this sector of the Argonne. A fellow officer who later retrieved the map was aston-

TIME LIFE PICTURES / GETTY IMAGES; NEW YORK TIMES

War's Grim Game

Eddie Grant was one of the first notable American athletes to die in combat. But he was hardly alone. Some others who have made the ultimate sacrifice include:

PAT TILLMAN

A safety with the Arizona Cardinals, Tillman walked away from a $3.6 million football contract to join the U.S. Army following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. He was killed in Afghanistan in April 2004.

BOB KALSU

A guard with the Buffalo Bills in 1968, Kalsu was killed by an artillery attack in July 1970 while serving in Vietnam—one of two professional football players to die in that war.

DON STEINBRUNNER

An offensive lineman for the Cleveland Browns in 1953, Steinbrunner served as a navigator in the Air Force and died in July 1967 when his C-123 aircraft was shot down over Kontum, Vietnam.

ELMER GEDEON

An outfielder for the Washington Senators in 1939, Gedeon was piloting a B-26 bomber over France in 1944 when his plane was shot down by antiaircraft fire.

JACK LUMMUS

An end for the New York Giants in 1941, Lummus died on Iwo Jima and was posthumously awarded the Medal of Honor. As he lay dying, he told a medic, "Well, Doc, it looks like the Giants have lost a good end."

HARRY O'NEILL

O'Neill played one game for the Philadelphia Athletics in July 1939. After joining the Marines, he was killed on Iwo Jima on March 6, 1945—one of two Major League players to die in the war.

ished to find when he opened it that one of the four jagged holes the shrapnel had ripped through it—the second from the top—marked the precise spot of Grant's death, in front of the trench La Pavillon at map coordinates 73-97. At the place where the third baseman who was so adept at the sacrifice bunt had stood for his last breath was now a tear in the map in roughly the shape of a triumphal arch.

A colonel halted the attack soon after Grant was killed. "We can't afford the price," he said. "My men deserve a better break than being sent to slaughter."

The Americans finally broke through to the Lost Battalion two days later. Whittlesey and 193 of his men were able to walk out; the other two-thirds were either dead or too injured to move under their own steam. A month later the armistice was signed. Whittlesey was acclaimed a national hero and awarded the Medal of Honor, but in a newspaper interview upon his return he modestly tried to deflect the glory to the comrades who had tried to reach him—especially the one with whom he had strolled around the Common in Cambridge and drilled at Plattsburg. "I can just see and hear that boy when he heard that my battalion was trapped in the woods, saying 'Well, if there is any chance to get my old friend "Whit" out of that hole, I want to be the man to do it,'" Whittlesey said. "When that shell burst and killed that boy, America lost one of the finest types of manhood I have ever known."

Eddie Grant was not the only baseball player to die in combat, but he was by far the most prominent, not just in World War I, but in any subsequent war. (Pitcher Christy Mathewson was gassed in an Army training accident, which may have made his lungs more vulnerable to contracting the tuberculosis that eventually killed him, at age 45, in 1925.)

IN THE SUNNY PAUSE between a Sunday double-header in the spring of 1921, a military band led a solemn parade of ballplayers and soldiers across the wide lawn of the Polo Grounds to a spot as far from home as they could get without leaving the field. They stood in ranks around a flag-draped monument about the size of a batboy that had just been planted in the deepest part of center field, where long fly balls went to die. It was Memorial Day, and they had come to honor Eddie Grant, who had been, as sportswriter Fred Lieb put it, "called out by the great Umpire."

Men Grant had served with in France offered testimonials to his character and courage, as did New York Giants manager John McGraw and a representative of his alma mater. "He made his sacrifice hit, and it was such hits that won the game," said Thomas Slocum, vice president of the Harvard Club.

As Grant's sisters pulled aside the American flag covering the granite monument, the band struck up "My Country 'Tis of Thee." "Soldier, Scholar, Athlete," read the bronze plaque affixed to the monument. The great sportswriter Grantland Rice (himself a veteran of the late war) wrote a memorial poem for the occasion, saying in its first stanza: "Far from the Game and the cheering of old, / A cross in the Argonne will tell you the

AP / WIDE WORLD PHOTOS; PRO FOOTBALL HALL OF FAME, CANTON OHIO (2); BASEBALL HALL OF FAME, COOPERSTOWN, N.Y.; PRO FOOTBALL HALL OF FAME; BASEBALL HALL OF FAME

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story, / Where each one may read on its rain-battered mould / A final box score that is written in glory. / A final box score of a Player who gave / The flag that he fought for, his ghost—and his grave." Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis—the stern, white-maned commissioner who would soon order the expulsion from baseball of the eight players involved in the Black Sox cheating scandal—lauded Grant as a man who gave "his all not for glory, not for fame, but just for his country," and predicted that his "memory will live as long as our game may last."

In the years that followed, whenever a ball was hit into deep center at the Polo Grounds, radio announcers would say it had gone "all the way back to the Eddie Grant monument," keeping his name alive. Landis later championed him for election to the Hall of Fame. "Regardless of baseball performance, I would like to see Eddie Grant's name on that list," the commissioner wrote.

Grant didn't make it into the Hall, though, and despite Landis' prediction, his memory gradually faded. So did that of his friend and comrade in arms Charles Whittlesey, who had committed suicide in November 1921, jumping overboard from a ship bound for Havana, after serving as an honorary pallbearer at the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. And even before the global turmoil of the 1930s, the ideals that had sent Grant, Whittlesey and many of their high-minded comrades to France—the dream that their sacrifice would redeem civilization and that organizations like the League of Nations would assure lasting peace—were looking increasingly frayed. The war fought to end all wars turned out to be just the opening battle in history's deadliest century.

Grant is buried with 14,245 other Americans in the Meuse-Argonne cemetery in France, in one of the long, pristine rows of white headstones—an ocean away from his family home in Massachusetts, and from Irene's grave in Philadelphia. After the Giants played their last game in the Polo Grounds in 1957, fans tore apart the field, and the bronze plaque from the memorial that was meant to mark his name forever disappeared.

The plaque never resurfaced, as the Giants had promised, in their new San Francisco home.

Above: A bronze plaque memorializing Grant was unveiled at the Polo Grounds in New York City on Memorial Day, 1921. Below: Grant is buried in the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery in France, the largest U.S. military cemetery in Europe, with 14,245 other Americans.

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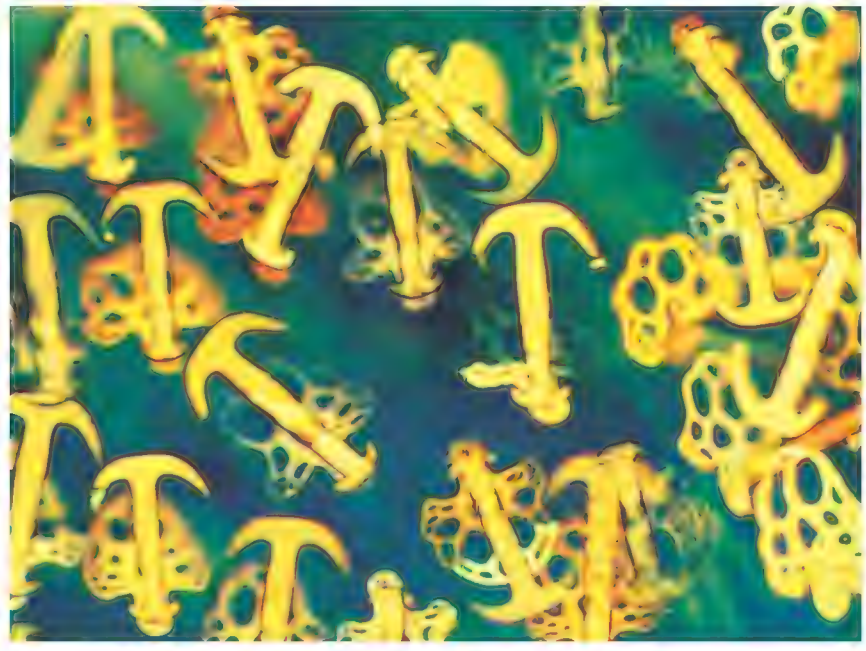


In a petri dish, nerve cells can, with a little artistic license, look like this (top). Fluorescent markers highlight proteins (in turquoise and purple) that cells use as scaffolding when they build new extensions. In a classic example of form following function, a marine worm uses anchors (right) embedded in its skin to attach itself to underwater reefs and rubble.

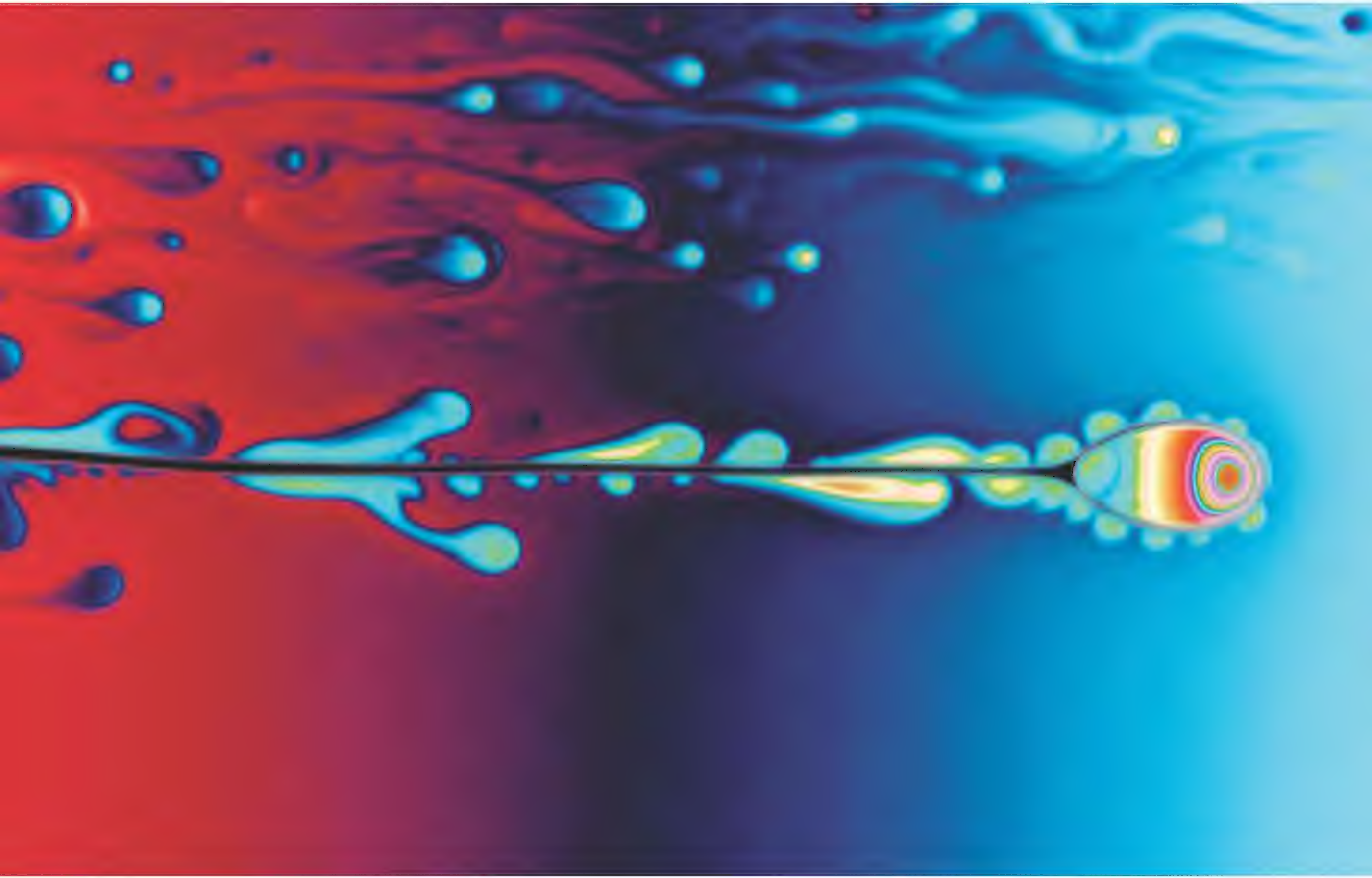
MICROSCOPE JOCKEYS FROM AROUND THE WORLD ENTER THEIR MASTERPIECES IN AN ANNUAL ART SHOW

BY LAURA HELMUTH

MAGNIFICENT MAGNIFICATIONS

IT WAS MORE THAN 300 YEARS AGO THAT ANTONI VAN LEEUWENHOEK GASPED at the sight of what he called "little animalcules" skittering through pond water, their motion "so swift, and so various, upwards, downwards, and round about, that 'twas wonderful to see." The Dutch haberdasher had crafted some of the first microscopes, never expecting to spy bacteria, sperm cells, red blood cells and much more. Looking through his microscopes, some of which magnified the view 250 times or more, he was the first to observe barbs on a bee's stinger, mushroom-like fungi sprouting out of infected skin and bacteria that, he noted, "oft-times spun round like a top." An invisible, previously unimagined realm teeming with life appeared suddenly before his eyes, and his discoveries would forever change the way people viewed the world.

Inventors since then have improved the microscope in many ways, using purer glass and also adding mirrors and multiple lenses that boost the magnifying power of light microscopes up to about 1,500 times. (Electron microscopes, which bounce fast-moving electrons off specimens, are hundreds of times more powerful.) Two-eyed stereoscopic viewers pop microscop-



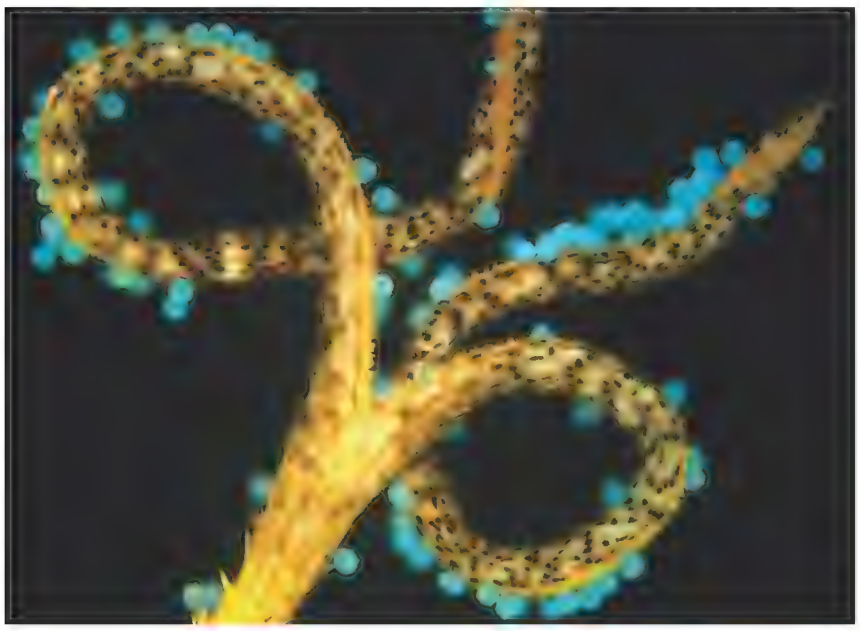
TSUTOMU SEIMIYA, P. 84 CHRISTIAN GAUTIER; PP. 84, 85 DR TORSTEN WITTMANN

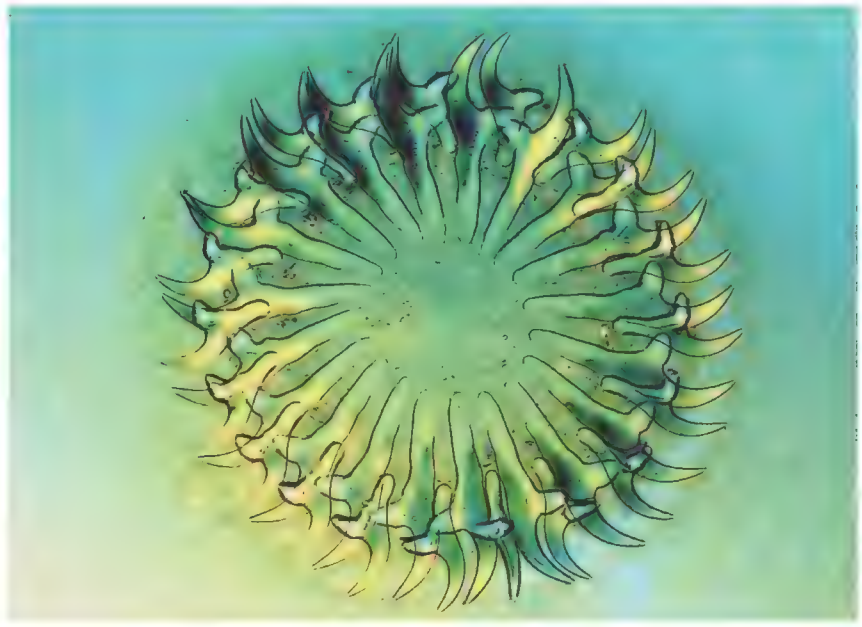
ic beasties into three dimensions. Chemical fixatives can pin down reproducing cells *in flagrante delicto*. Particular angles or wavelengths of light illuminate features that are washed out by harsh, direct light, much as shadows cast by the evening sun can give a landscape photograph more depth. Fluorescent markers, which microscopists can attach to proteins within a cell, emit a technicolored glow when stimulated by the appropriate laser light; such "fluorophores" help biologists understand the role of a marked protein in a cell's motion, reproduction or death.

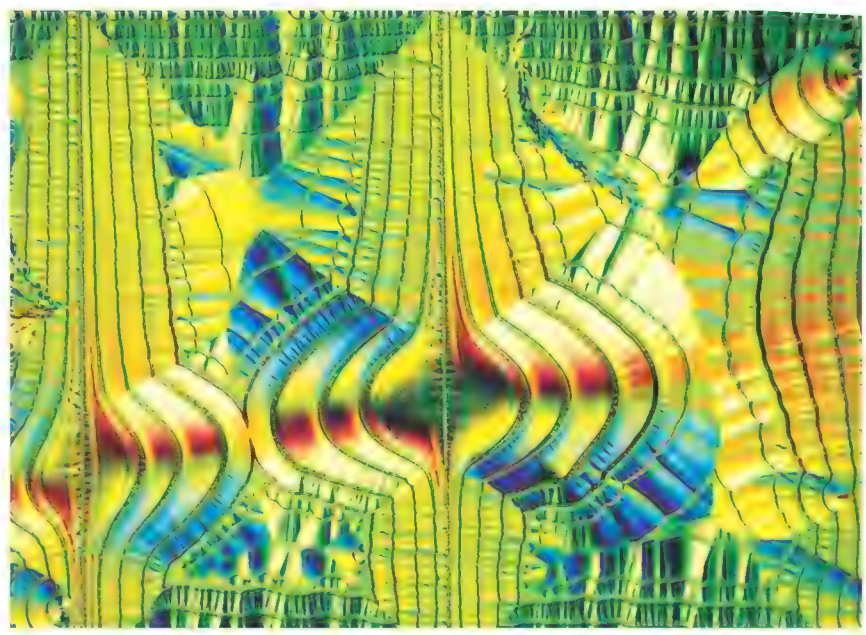
Lately, microscopy has been greatly enhanced by digital image processing. For microscopists as well as ordinary shutterbugs, digital photographs are quicker and cheaper to create than images made with film. They can also be easily manipulated on the computer to accentuate or analyze telling features.

Throughout its history, microscopy has served hard science: it has identified microbes responsible for diseases, revealed minerals that tell the story of a rock's geologic history or brought to light evidence used to convict criminals. But there's more to microscopy even than that, something subjective. Microscopists have always delighted in the surprising, amusing and often profoundly beautiful scenes under their lenses.

For 30 years, Nikon, the camera and optical equipment company, has hosted an annual photo contest for micro-







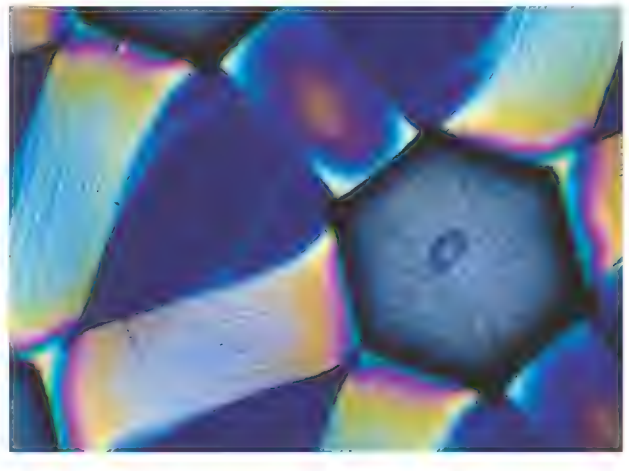
Sometimes modern art looks best when stood on its head, as with this image of a drip flowing through soap film (opposite). A brittle star larva (top) is reminiscent of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's first glimpse of microscopic beasties. Hay fever sufferers can get a close-up look at their enemy (middle left)—the bright blue pollen spores are ready to waft away from their stigma and . . . ah . . . ah. . . . Gesundheit! The creepy-crawly side of the microscopic world is even more apparent in a tapeworm's gaping maw (middle right). Crystals under polarized light are a favorite subject of artistically inclined microscopists. Depending on a crystal's thickness and orientation, it can erupt in hallucinogenic stripes and whorls—or even, if you look at them just right, fish or cobwebs or butterflies (bottom left)—or are they birds? Crystallized vitamin C (bottom right) looks positively juicy.

WIM VAN EGMOND; ROBERT MARKUS; CHRISTIAN GAUTIER; EDY KIESER; M. I. (SPIKE) WALKER

This year's first-place image documents an experiment that went awry (above). Individual nanocrystals are too small to see even at this 200X magnification, but here, rather than lying in a flat film as the researchers intended, the nanocrystals are clumped together. This derailed the study but made a striking image. At a more familiar scale is the pad of an adhesive bandage (below).

scopists. Many of the entries are lovely. All are utterly unfamiliar: more eerie, more puzzling and more dramatic than a Surrealist painting or the priciest Hollywood special effects. The 2004 Small World Competition winners will be officially announced this month. The aim, says Michael W. Davidson, a molecular biophysicist at Florida State University at Tallahassee and a contest judge, is to reward both "technical proficiency on the microscope and an eye for art." Some of this year's and past years' winning entries appear in these pages.

The contest judges, including SMITHSONIAN photo editor Bonnie Stutski, had to choose the winners from among about 1,400 images. Enthusiasts who submit artwork to the contest come from all walks of life: Alzheimer's researchers, modern-day microbe hunters, a retired minister and basement tinkerers. A large number of entries come from graduate students or postdoctoral researchers, scientific apprentices who don't command their own laboratories yet and are known for their long, unremunerative hours in the lab. One imagines them parked at their desks late at night, staring through microscopes until the slides swirl in their eyes, then photographing these unique visions. When their photographs look just as beautiful in the light of the next day, they can take pleasure not just in their scientific labor but in creating art.



LAURA HELMUTH is a senior editor at SMITHSONIAN magazine.

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CLEANING PICASSO

The artist's groundbreaking *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* gets a face-lift from experts at New York's Museum of Modern Art

BY PAUL TRACHTMAN

THE CONSERVATION LABORATORY at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) is a brightly lit sanctuary where 20th-century masterpieces are brought for cleaning, restoration and, in case of damage, repairs. Although the operations performed here are painstakingly slow, the place looks more like a hospital emergency room than a painter's studio. There are X-ray machines for diagnosis, and steel carts stocked with cotton swabs, scalpels and needles. For the conservators at work here, watercolors and paintbrushes are instruments of last resort.

Michael Duffy is highly trained in the techniques of his trade, and he's had experience as a studio artist himself, but he would have to be a Picasso to know exactly what to do with the work at hand. Actually, he is standing in front of Picasso's 1907 *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, the shocking canvas (called by Picasso biographer Patrick O'Brian the "anarchist bomb tossed into Western European painting") that launched the stylistic revolution known as Cubism. Now almost 100 years old and one of the icons of MoMA's collection, the nearly eight-foot-square painting depicts five imposing pink-skinned nudes whose figures owe as much to geometry as anatomy and whose faces recall African masks and ancient Iberian sculpture. When the museum's conservators and curators decided the painting needed restoration, Duffy got the nod.

Much of the work was done at MoMA's temporary home, a converted Swingline stapler factory in Queens, while its main space in Midtown Manhattan was undergoing an expansion. The restored *Les Demoiselles* will be unveiled at the grand reopening of the newly renovated MoMA, designed by Tokyo-based architect Yoshio Taniguchi, on November 20.

Duffy, 43, is an avid bird-watcher—a pursuit that demands the kind of intense observation he employs in the lab. He says the technical aspects of the work, such as varnish removal, are quite straightforward. What's trickier is bringing a painting back to an artist's original intentions, which can mean undoing what other restorers have done in the past. In this case, when chief conservator James Coddington joins Duffy one morning this past winter, the conversation turns to what Picasso might have done about a few vertical cracks that run through the standing figure on the right side of *Les Demoiselles*, most likely caused when Picasso rolled up the canvas not long after he completed it; it

"Picasso's materials have held up," says MoMA conservator Michael Duffy (examining *Les Demoiselles* before cleaning). "Getting rid of the old restoration materials . . . brings back the beauty of the paint."

PABLO PICASSO, LES DEMOISELLES D'AVIGNON, 1907. © 2004 ESTATE OF PABLO PICASSO / ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY, NEW YORK

MATT SKOPEK / MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

remained rolled up in his studio for years.

"The cracks were probably visible when Picasso still owned the work," Duffy observes. "He even said he liked to see this kind of damage or aging because it imbued a work with a life of its own." Coddington agrees, but says Picasso might have a different point of view today. "Did these damages look exactly like this when Picasso saw them?" he asks. "They may be more evident now. There's more dirt in them, and various treatment materials have gotten down in there and darkened them." They will have to decide, in dialogue with the museum's curators, if they should fill in the cracks and mask them with watercolors, as previous restorers have done, or leave them as is.

"Our goal is to respect the artist's intent," says Duffy, "but at the same time to make it a visually coherent work of art and not make you ask, 'Ooh, what is that? Is that damage?'" He points out where an earlier restorer had gone too far, covering up some of Picasso's original paint as he masked some cracks with watercolors. "It's a very tough call," Coddington explains, "as to what should and shouldn't be retouched."

French artist Edgar Degas was known to rant about any attempts to restore old-master works in the Louvre and refused to let the museum have his own work. "He was infuriated by the fact that the Giorgiones, the Rembrandts, the Watteaus had fallen into the hands of pedantic functionaries," his friend historian Daniel Halévy recalled, quoting Degas: "Touch a Rembrandt, does one know what one is touching? Does one know how it's made? It is a mystery." Picasso could be even more acerbic. In his 1983 essay "Crimes Against the Cubists," biographer John Richardson said Picasso had "a healthy horror of varnish and virtually all forms of restoration." If a painting developed serious damage, his attitude was "Too bad!"

As the conservators analyzed *Les Demoiselles* with X-rays, infrared light, even microscopic examination of a tiny sample of paint taken from the edge of a crack, they found the painting in remarkably good shape. "Picasso's materials have really held up," says Duffy, "and it's just a matter of getting rid of the old restoration materials, which brings back the original beauty of the paint." Coddington says their glimpses into the substructure of the painting showed that in terms of technique, it was "executed in the most classical manner."

It's what happened to the painting after Picasso finished it that conservators must grapple with now. At the urging of his Surrealist contemporary André Breton, Picasso sold *Les Demoiselles* to the collector Jacques Doucet in 1924. Doucet had the painting "lined" (a reinforcing canvas was glued and pressed onto its back) before it was restretched and framed. Some of the glue affected the paint, causing small blisters in places. MoMA bought the painting in 1939, and it has been restored on several occasions since. In 1950 it was retouched and varnished with a synthetic resin. In 1963 it was infused with a wax resin adhesive, which was supposed to strengthen the lining and protect the painting from changes in humidity and temperature. But the wax seeped through the canvas, and the excess had to be removed from the painting's surface, leaving waxy residues. These were all, as John Richardson viewed them, "crimes against the Cubists."

Picasso, Braque and their followers chose to use flat, or

Over the decades since Picasso (top, in his Paris studio in 1908) completed *Les Demoiselles* in 1907, the painting has been lined with a reinforcing canvas, retouched, varnished and infused with wax resin—all of which posed a challenge to MoMA conservators. Before-and-after details (above) show that the removal of varnish and surface residues brightened colors in the head at the painting's upper right and revealed areas of the canvas that Picasso left exposed around the hand at the top left of the work.

New Mexico-based author and printmaker PAUL TRACHTMAN *wrote about artist Lee Bontecou in the September* SMITHSONIAN.

REUNION DES MUSEES NATIONAUX / ART RESOURCE; MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, N.Y. (4)

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To fill the cracks in *Les Demoiselles*, conservator Michael Duffy (left, in August, with the finished work) used materials such as watercolors that could be easily removed in the future. "It's a tough call," says MoMA's James Coddington (right), "as to what should be retouched."

matte, paints to break with the sense of illusion in 19th-century painting traditionally enhanced by varnish. "Instead of using eye-fooling devices to make things recede as far as possible from the onlooker," Richardson wrote, "the Cubists were out to bring things as far as possible back within reach: they wanted to make the picture surface the equivalent of reality, not a representation of it." Coddington points to a glossy area of the canvas where varnish has not yet been removed. "Once that varnish comes off you'll see that some of Picasso's paint is a little glossier, other parts are more matte," he says. "The varnish diminishes those differences, and they are not trivial, they are very much part of Picasso's intention. It's a painterly quality, but it also differentiates flesh and background. Those differences are often subtle, but they are ultimately where the thrill and life of the picture reside."

It was the conservators who first suggested, in 2000, that some of that thrill was gone. They had been removing varnish from other paintings of the same era, and their eyes were sensitized to the condition of *Les Demoiselles*. One of Picasso's small, preliminary oil sketches, which had never been varnished, offered a guide to what the work should look like, as did some other paintings he'd made around the same time.

It would take months, and infinite patience, as Duffy dampened one swab after another with solvent and rolled it over a bit of varnish, not scrubbing but letting the solvent work, then wicking the varnish off into the swab. This time, the varnish will stay off. "If dirt and grime should fall on the painting, as it undoubtedly will," says Coddington, "a surface cleaning to remove it will pose no risk whatsoever." I ask what kind of solvent they use to remove dirt. "A mild enzymatic solution," Duffy answers. "That's the term we use."

Coddington laughs. "Which we take straight from our mouths," he says. "Spit cleaning."

Even after working so intimately with *Les Demoiselles*, the two conservators still seem a bit stunned by the painting. Coddington is especially struck by Picasso's defiantly modern, unpainterly attack—smudges he didn't bother to paint over, brushstrokes he literally x-ed out and left that way. For Duffy, who has restored other Picassos, working on this painting is very different. "There's something about it that gives you a jolt every time you get near it," he says. "When you get up close you sort of lose yourself in the way the paint is applied, but when you step back you say, 'Wow! Look at this painting I'm next to!' It's always a shock."

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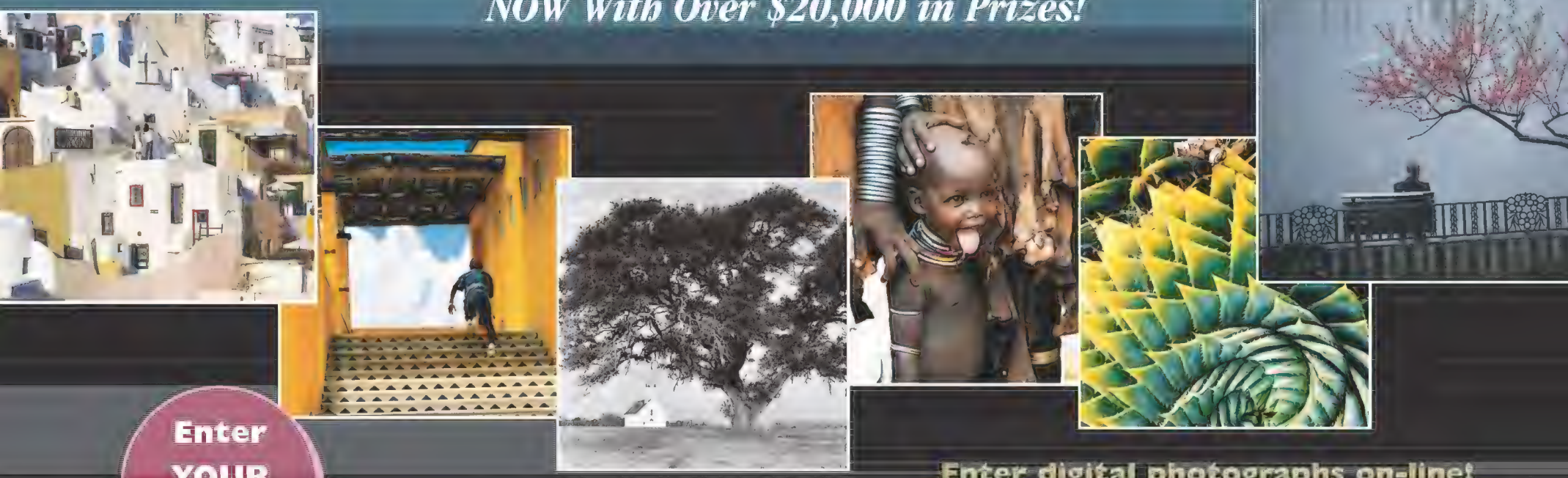

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At six million acres, New York's funky wilderness preserve, one of America's largest refuges, is also one of the most alluring. An aficionado explains why

ADIRONDACKS STYLE

BY JONATHAN KANDELL · PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERICA FREUDENSTEIN

MANY, IF NOT MOST, visitors to New York's vast Adirondack Park lay claim to a favorite vantage point. Mine is the summit of Coon Mountain—actually a craggy, wooded hill that rises only 500 feet above Lake Champlain. Coon Mountain will not induce the adrenaline rush of a white-water rafting trip down the Ausable River Chasm in the northeast corner of the park. Nor does it offer the sense of accomplishment that comes from scaling Mount Marcy, at

Promoted by developer William West Durant in 1886 as "the resort of the future," the Adirondacks became a wilderness playground for high society. Today Brian McDonnell (below) guides tourists along the once private waterways that lead to Gilded Age camps such as Eagle Island (left).

"NATIVE AMERICANS USED THE ADIRONDACKS ABOUT THE SAME WAY NEW YORKERS DO TODAY," SAYS JOHN COLLINS.

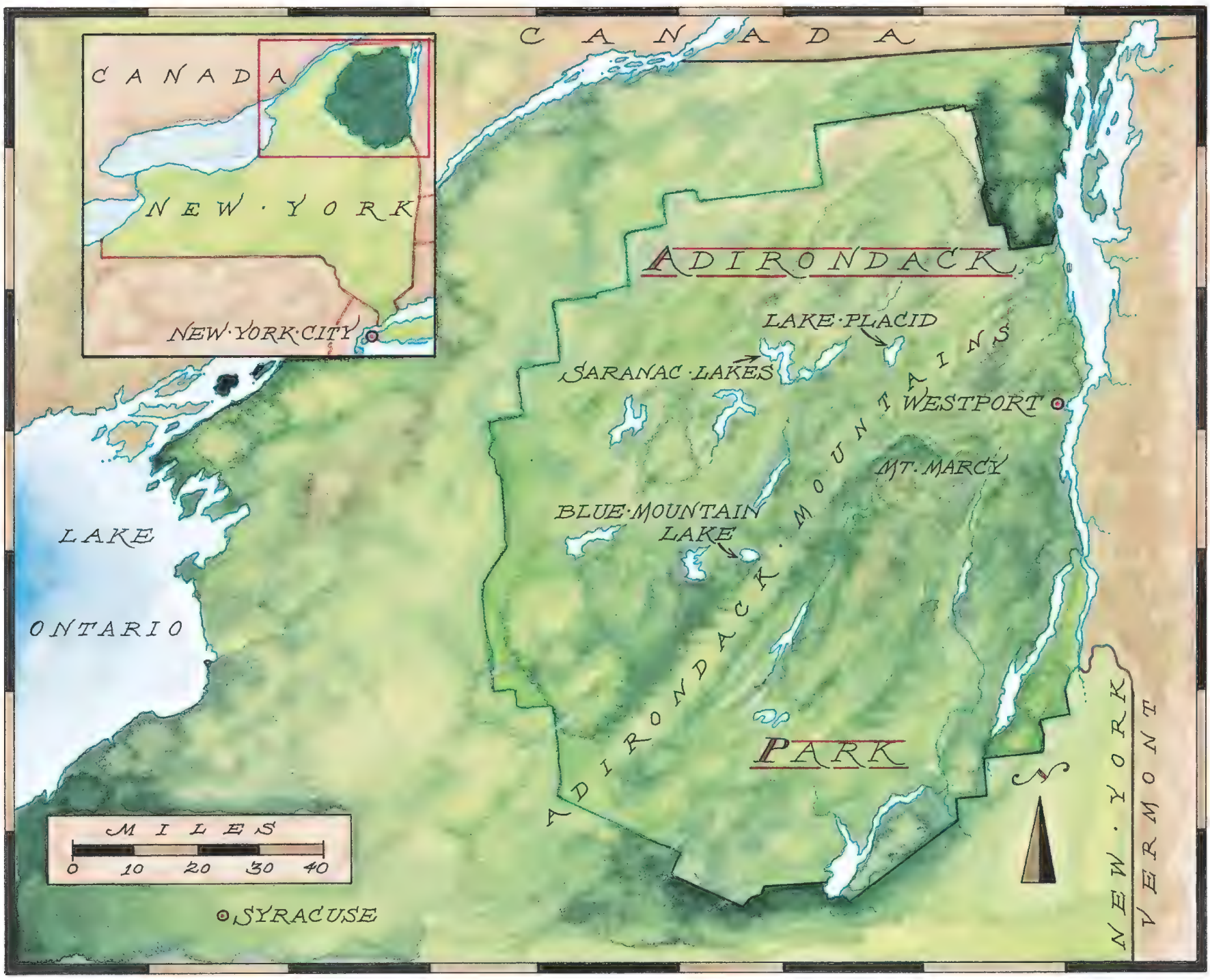
5,344 feet the tallest peak in the state, 15 miles to the west.

But weather permitting, I climb Coon Mountain once or twice a week during my annual Adirondack vacation. The wildflower-edged trail, which can be hiked in half an hour or so, winds past towering hemlocks and oaks; ravens and nuthatches call from the branches. At the summit, the forest thins, giving way to boulders smoothed by retreating glaciers. To the east, the wind chops little white nicks into Lake Champlain, its coves bordered by dense woodland that conceals the little town of Westport (pop. 1,362) and its waterfront residences. To the west lie mountains known as the High Peaks, including Marcy. Below me are pastures and cornfields anchored by red barns and white clapboard farmhouses. Depicting "the Adirondacks without making the pictures look like postcards is a continual challenge," says landscape painter Paul Matthews, one of scores of artists seduced by the region's mountains, waters and skies during the past 150 years.

Today, the Adirondacks face challenges common to many wilderness parks—acid rain, logging, off-road vehicles, the encroachment of vacation homes. Still, this wilderness has survived serious threats in the past. During the mid-1800s, trappers hunted animals valued for their pelts—particularly beaver—to the verge of extinction. Patches and slivers of farmland are all that remain of 19th-century homesteads—a testament to the foolhardiness of trying to grow crops in the thin, rocky soil that nonetheless supports vast forests.

Although nine million tourists flock to the Adirondack Park annually, only about 130,000 permanent residents live inside its borders. Even before the European discovery of the New World, few people inhabited these lands year-round. "Native Americans used the Adirondacks about the same way New Yorkers do today," says John Collins, former director of the Adirondack Museum, a handsome 22-building complex housing regional history and cultural exhibits near

The largest park in the contiguous U.S., the Adirondack state park is larger than Yellowstone, Yosemite and the Grand Canyon combined.



MIKE REAGAN

Alfred Vanderbilt bought the 1,526-acre Sagamore "camp" (its main lodge, above) in 1901 to use as a honeymoon cottage. Gary Cooper and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were among the guests to stay at the compound. It is open to tourists from May to October.

the center of the park on Blue Mountain Lake. "They came for the summer and fall to fish and hunt, and then they went home." In winter, this territory was considered so inhospitable that only the most marginalized tribes stayed on. They were derisively called "Adirondacks"—"Bark Eaters," in Iroquois—by the dominant peoples from more temperate neighboring areas where food was more plentiful.

Undisturbed throughout the colder months, the Adirondacks teemed with wildlife. Ever since 1609, when French explorer Samuel de Champlain sailed down the lake that was later named for him, Europeans coveted the lustrous pelts of beaver, fisher, marten and otter. The lucrative fur trade sparked continual conflict between French and English settlers, a struggle for territory that culminated in the French and Indian War (1754-63), ultimately giving the British possession of the Adirondacks.

JONATHAN KANDELL is a frequent contributor to SMITHSONIAN. *He last wrote about Vancouver, British Columbia. Photographer* ERICA FREUDENSTEIN *is based in Brooklyn, New York.*

In the 19th century, timber also provided great riches. "At first, logging was a winter occupation because you could skid the logs over ice and snow," says Collins. Logs were hauled to frozen lakes, then, in spring, floated down rivers to sawmills. This technique worked well for relatively buoyant softwoods but not for heavier hardwoods, which would sink and, therefore, were not harvested. The advent of railroads, however, reduced river transport and would, by the late 1800s, lead to the explosive growth of logging.

Already, by the mid-19th century, the exploitation of wild animals had reached alarming levels. In the 1870s, C. Hart Merriam, a biologist surveying the region, asserted that beavers "have, excepting a few isolated individuals, been exterminated." In his 1997 history of the park, *The Adirondacks*, Paul Schneider writes that by the mid-1800s, "wolves, moose, and panthers [had become] extremely scarce. A trapper couldn't make a decent full-time living [from] lynx, fisher, marten, and most of the other furbearers." Fears grew that excessive logging would turn the Adirondacks into an arid wasteland, depriving New York City and other downstate

"IN GOOD VICTORIAN FASHION, WHAT YOU DIDN'T SEE OR HEAR NEVER HAPPENED," SAYS SAGAMORE'S WILSON.

cities of water. "If the Adirondacks are cleared, the Hudson River will dry up," *Forest and Stream* magazine warned in 1883.

To ensure that the Adirondacks "be forever kept as wild forest lands," as a 1894 amendment to the New York State Constitution mandates, Adirondack Park was created in 1892. Encompassing six million mountainous acres and thousands of lakes and ponds, it is larger than Yellowstone, Yosemite and the Grand Canyon combined. The entire state of New Hampshire could fit within its confines.

The muscle behind the establishment of the Adirondack Park came from the very same industrialists whose railways, mines and financial activities had jeopardized the wilderness. The Vanderbilts, Rockefellers, Morgans and others of the newly rich now embraced a new spirit of conservation, overlaid with nostalgia for a simpler life close to nature. They purchased large tracts of Adirondack lands and created preserves—initially for their own use, and later for public benefit. They constructed family "camps"—compounds consisting of multiple buildings that recalled European villages; indigenous materials—stone, wood and bark—were adapted to Old-World-style rustic architecture.

"Back to nature" became a summer mantra. But in the Adirondacks, it was carried out with retinues of servants and an astonishingly lavish infrastructure. "The great camps were the Gilded Age equivalent of the Winnebago," says Beverly Bridger, executive director of the nonprofit foundation that runs Sagamore, the Adirondack camp once owned by the Vanderbilts and now open to ordinary vacationers from late spring through early fall.

Developer William West Durant built Sagamore—meaning "wise old chief" in Algonquian—on its own lake in 1897; he sold it four years later to Alfred Vanderbilt, heir to the railroad fortune put together by his great-grandfather Cornelius "Commodore" Vanderbilt. On a three-day visit there, I stayed in a spacious lakeside cabin, one of Sagamore's 27 structures. A century ago the Vanderbilts, who boarded their own private train for the overnight journey from New York City's Grand Central Station, disembarked at their personal railhead on Raquette Lake, then traveled a few miles by horse-drawn carriage to Sagamore. The compound had its own hot-and-cold running water, sewage treatment facilities, telephone lines and hydroelectric generating plant. "This was a demonstration of the Vanderbilts' power to adapt nature to their own creature comforts," says historian Michael Wilson, Sagamore's associate director.

A three-story main lodge still dominates the compound. Constructed in Swiss chalet style, its exterior is sided with bark that has withstood a century of rain, snow and ice storms. Massive, iron-studded front doors suggest the entrance to a feudal castle. Paneled in wood, the parlor features a ceiling supported by 13 perfectly matched spruce log beams. They are irreplaceable today, Wilson says, because acid rain, caused by air pollution from power plants in the Midwest and Canada, has devastated Adirondack forests at altitudes where stands of spruce once grew.

The parlor's fireplace, large enough to roast a stag, is built of unblemished stones. "Workers were ordered not to leave any chisel marks," says Wilson. Because skilled labor was scarce in the remote Adirondacks, foremen from the great camps made regular forays to Ellis Island in New York City's harbor, where they recruited disembarking European immigrants. "If they needed masons, they would look for men with trowels," says Bridger. "If carpenters were needed, they kept an eye out for hammers and saws."

Workers and servants (except for household staff) lived in their own compound, concealed by a barrier of forest from the luxurious lakeside quarters of the Vanderbilts and their visitors. The sole exception was Wigwam, a two-story, cedar-bark-sheathed lodge where Alfred Vanderbilt's male guests entertained their female guests, imported from New York City and Albany for weekends. Set behind

Nine million tourists (at Sagamore, left) visit each year. Says wilderness guide Brian McDonnell, who often leads kids on expeditions: "It's important to make them feel that the Adirondack Park is theirs. They are the future voters and taxpayers."

Some Adirondacks residents worry about the growing number of vacation homes, while others welcome development. Local police warned environmentalist Anne LaBastille that the "time-honored way to get back at a person in the Adirondacks is to kill their dog."

a thicket of trees and above a roaring stream that muffled sound, Wigwam has a back door for female companions who arrived and departed through the workers' compound. "In good Victorian fashion, what you didn't see or hear never happened," says Wilson.

For outdoor entertainment, the Vanderbilts relied on professional guides—locals who knew the trails, the best fishing spots and the whereabouts of game. The Adirondack Guides Association was formed in 1892 to ensure the competence of the woodsmen and to guarantee them a minimum wage. In the 1950s, the association lapsed into inactivity, but a successor organization was founded in 1980. Its former president, Brian McDonnell, 46, who runs his own guide service, invited me on a ten-mile canoe journey along waterways that were once virtually the private domain of Gilded Age oligarchs.

On a September afternoon, we paddle through interconnecting glacial ponds south into Upper Saranac Lake. Along the shorelines, huge tracts of forest were logged in the late 19th century; today, those dense woodlands are gradually making a comeback. Birches, often "the pioneer species in natural reforestation," says McDonnell, are only now being displaced by heavier hardwoods. Under a cloudless sky, we canoe into a region rich in snapping turtles, hooded mergansers (a species of duck), squadrons of monarch butterflies and dragonflies, deer and beaver. Fat trout and bass swim in the shallow, limpid waters, seemingly close enough to scoop up by hand.

Weather in the Adirondacks is rarely so perfect. "When you come here on a three-day vacation—which is about average these days—you are bound to encounter some rain," says McDonnell. "But too many people have been raised to stay dry, and they fully expect the sunshine they see in the brochures." His clients include families and school groups, billionaires and "average Joes." But he keeps a special eye out

"GOD HELP ME IF I FELL OUT," SAYS LABASTILLE. "WITH LUCK THE SHOCK WOULD KILL ME INSTANTLY."

for adolescents from New York City and Long Island. "It's important to make them feel that Adirondack Park is theirs," says McDonnell, who worries about budget cutbacks in state funding for the park. "They are the future voters and taxpayers, and we need all the outside help we can get."

After four hours of leisurely paddling, we reach Eagle Island, on Upper Saranac Lake. Constructed in 1899 as a family camp for Levi Morton, who was Benjamin Harrison's vice president, Eagle Island has been a Girl Scout camp since 1937. But by September, only property manager Pete Benson is still on hand, mainly to oversee repairs of ancient roof shingles and bark-sheathed pine columns. Benson, 50, has spent enough seasons here to encounter campers whose mothers also summered here as scouts.

When I ask him what has changed from one generation to the next, he unhesitatingly answers: "A concern for the environment." To illustrate the point, Benson leads the way to the Great Room—originally the main building's parlor—with its 30-foot ceiling and a score of big-game animal heads, including moose, stag and Rocky Mountain sheep—still mounted on the walls. While the mothers of today's campers may have been impressed by these trophies, scouts nowadays tend to register dismay. One 10-year-old, Benson recalls, looked up at the taxidermied heads, only to declare solemnly: "And now, we must bury them."

I repeat this anecdote a few days later to Anne LaBastille, an outspoken activist who has spent more than three decades fostering a conservation ethic here. She smiles approvingly. The first title in ecologist LaBastille's four-volume (so far) memoir—*Woodswoman*—appeared in 1976. The books recount 33 years in the Adirondack Park, living alone on a peninsula jutting into a lake whose name she asks me not to reveal.

At loose ends in the late 1960s after her divorce from an Adirondacks innkeeper, LaBastille embraced the back-to-nature advocacy of her childhood hero, Henry David Thoreau. "I read *Walden* as a girl and assumed Thoreau had spent his whole life in the woods," says LaBastille. "When I found out it was only for two years, two months and two days, it was like discovering there wasn't a real Santa."

She built her home, a 24- by 12-foot log cabin without electricity, with the help of two friends on a 30-acre plot of woods bounded by lake, pond and old-growth forest. When she first moved in, the closest permanent residents were five miles away. In winter, blizzards ripped down phone lines and halted the mail; LaBastille's occasional shopping forays across the lake for supplies could turn into terrifying ordeals. The water turned syrupy before freezing, slowing her small motorboat. "God help me if I fell out," she says. "With luck the shock would kill me instantly. Otherwise, I was facing a three-minute death." Reaching the mainland shore where she kept a car, she would have to light several matches to thaw the door lock and ignition switch. When temperatures got below freezing, she would spend days huddled with her two German shepherds, never too far from a wood-burning stove fueled by split logs cut from trees felled during storms.

But on an Indian summer day like this one, it is easy to understand what has kept LaBastille here for so many years. Fragrant white pine, red spruce and balsam fir shade her cabin. Chickadees and juncos chirp a spirited chorus, interrupted by the scolding of red squirrels. Hiking from her cabin a half-mile uphill, LaBastille bounds over mossy logs I clumsily straddle. At the end of our climb lies Thoreau II, a tiny shack with a pristine view of a pond and 50,000 acres of state forest. This is where LaBastille writes—on one of her five Smith Corona typewriters.

She no longer considers the land her larger cabin sits on true wilderness. "The mania for snowmobiles and Jet Skis is everywhere," says LaBastille. "We have 250-horsepower boats roaring at full speed on this two-mile-long lake." These days, she doesn't dare drink the water

Don't try this at home: Charles Jessie (right, risking a nasty shock in Saranac Lake) has been trapping here since he was a kid. His antler art, from antlers freely shed by deer, now commands as much as $5,000. Left: Hoss's Country Corner store in Long Lake.

"MY HUSBAND TOOK ME TO A MOVIE ONLY ONCE, AND I JUST SLEPT THROUGH IT," NELLIE STAVES RECALLS.

without filtering it. Acid rain, and phosphates and nitrates leached from laundry-detergent runoff at new vacation homes, killed the native fish; the lake has been restocked with a species of Canadian brook trout more resistant to such toxins. According to an exhibit at the Adirondack Museum, some 500 of the 2,300 lakes and ponds in the park no longer support native plants or indigenous aquatic fauna.

The deteriorating ecosystem turned LaBastille from virtual hermit to activist. From 1978 to 1995, she served as a commissioner of the Adirondack Park Agency, which regulates development of the park's privately held lands (3.4 million acres in all). But by the early 1990s, LaBastille's pro-environment positions had infuriated some Adirondack residents. One night, when she was attending a meeting, arsonists torched her barns in the Champlain Valley, where she lived on a small farm several months a year. A police investigator, she says, warned her that her dogs might be poisoned next. "So I decided to resign as commissioner." Today, LaBastille confines her activism to leading small groups into old-growth forest and on canoe expeditions. "That's how you make the real converts," she says.

IN HIS HISTORY of the park, Paul Schneider insisted that battle lines in the struggle to preserve wilderness are rarely clearly drawn. "Practically speaking, in the Adirondacks," he wrote, "conservationists have never won a major battle without the support of the trappers and their far more plentiful brethren, the hunters and anglers."

According to John Collins, formerly of the Adirondack Museum and a passionate conservationist, Schneider's assertion that a common ground exists between environmentalists and hunter-trappers in the Adirondacks has merit. "People may be glad *they* aren't trappers, but they are glad *somebody* is," he says. Collins cites the thorny issue of beavers. Back from the edge of extinction here, the species is once again prolific. Beaver dams, now a common sight on streams and ponds, are sometimes blamed for flooding roads. "The beaver is lovely, wonderful—and a pain in the butt," says Collins, adding that the problems the animals create would be even worse if it weren't for trappers.

The decline in the popularity of fur has left few full-time trappers. Charles Jessie, 69, a former Navy Seal who grew up in the Adirondacks, is a trapper turned artisan. He makes a good living at what he calls "antler art"—fashioning chandeliers, lamps and coffee-table stands from deer antlers. In his home workshop in the town of Saranac Lake, he stores stacks of antlers. "Sometimes, people will ask, 'How many deer died for these?' and I'll tell them not a single one," he says. The antlers are "drops," shed by maturing stags in early winter and collected by local Boy Scouts, who auction them off to dealers. "I'd never get enough antlers if I depended on hunters," says Jessie. Demand for his work is brisk.

After leaving Charles Jessie, I drive 30 minutes southwest to the town of Tupper Lake to meet Nellie Staves, at 87 perhaps the most famous living Adirondack trapper. As a young woman at a lumber camp where her husband was a logger, she cooked for 57 hungry lumberjacks on meal shifts that began at 3 a.m. and ended at sundown, seven days a week. "My husband took me to a movie only once, and I just slept through it," she recalls.

Staves still walks several miles twice a day to check her traplines for beaver, muskrat, mink and her favorite, red fox. She is also a fungus artist, etching wild animals and bucolic scenes on the flat surfaces of large, woody tree fungi. It is an Adirondack art form that goes back at least to the mid-19th century. Staves collects the shell-shaped fungus from dead trees and logs in summer when it has a new, spongy coat. Using the point of an old school compass, she pricks the surface of the fungus to release a natural, brown-tinted liquid that provides the only coloring for her etchings. The deeper she plunges the compass, the darker the hue. Staves must complete her ani-

Fungus artist and trapper Nellie Staves (right) worked after World War II in Adirondack lumber camps cooking up to 18 hours a day for 57 lumberjacks. "It's just like cooking at home, only you cook a lot more." Left: Researchers measure the effects of pollution on the loons.

KENNAN WARD / CORBIS

"I'M DRAWN TO THUNDERHEADS. I HAVE TO GET AWAY FROM THE TREES TO SEE THE SKIES," SAYS ARTIST MATTHEWS.

mal figures and landscapes before the brown tint dries, or else the etching will look discolored. "Sometimes, I'll work through the night so it won't dry on me," she says. And even then, there are no guarantees. Falling asleep from exhaustion after 20 straight hours on an etching, Staves once woke up to discover the tint had disappeared like invisible ink. "I wish I could remember what tree that fungus came from, because I'd make sure to stay away from it," she says.

Adirondack style is also enjoying a renaissance in home design—a trend rooted in nostalgia for the decorative tastes of the great old camps of the Gilded Era. Examples of it include thick-cushioned sofas upholstered in Native American geometric designs, dining chairs embellished with carvings of twigs, porcelain plates featuring game-animal motifs, and bearskin rugs. "Rustic without roughing it—that's the easiest way to define the style," says Jon Prime, who co-owns the Adirondack Store, a half-century-old gift and home furnishings emporium, with his mother, Ruth, in the mountain resort and Winter Olympics training town of Lake Placid.

In the town of Lake Clear, not far from Lake Placid's ski slopes, Jay Dawson has turned his grandfather's former speakeasy into a workshop and showroom for furniture he fashions from driftwood. One piece, a chair, features a back support and seat crafted from a single piece of cedar driftwood, salvaged from a river. "I work with lumberjacks all over the Adirondacks, and they call me if they come across unusual stuff," says Dawson. The ice storm of 1998 that devastated the park's forests proved a bonanza for him. "A lot of dead trees were covered with ice and bent over but didn't snap," says Dawson. "I sell them as entrance archways for summer camps."

In Keene, an hour's drive south, Bruce Gundersen creates startling dioramas of Adirondack scenes from pine-cone scales, soil, twigs, bark and other materials that he collects in nearby woods. "The northern European fairy-tale feeling of the old Adirondack camps really influenced my work," says Gundersen. But his occasionally sinister fairy tales can sometimes turn the Gilded Age ideal of "rusticity without roughing it" on its head. In one diorama, a great camp lodge contains a bear's den; the tableau also depicts wolves prowling through another wing of the house.

Painters have long been identified with the enduring aesthetic of the Adirondack style. During the past century and a half, artists including Thomas Cole, Asher Durand, Winslow Homer and Rockwell Kent lived and worked in these mountains. Some 500 paintings by 145 artists—all of them at one time Adirondack residents—are in the collection of the Adirondack Museum. What defines an Adirondack artist? "More than anything else, an Adirondack landscape," says Atea Ring, owner of a Westport gallery that bears her name.

Painter Paul Matthews has taken as his subject the skies over this vast wilderness. In his works, turbulent clouds dominate the landscape. "I'm drawn to thunderheads," Matthews tells me during a visit to his studio in Keene. "I have to get away from the trees to see the skies." In this quest, he has scaled mountains and even braved the open space of a garbage dump to make sketches or photographs of clouds, which provide the raw material for his paintings. "Clouds change and move so fast, it's hard to paint them directly," he says. Matthews' canvasses hang in the Adirondack Museum and the Atea Ring Gallery.

CLOUDS ARE MASSING ominously a few weeks later as I stand on the shores of a pond in the northern region of the park. This is the moment when loons converge in flocks, preparing for their annual migration south. The bird is strikingly beautiful, characterized by a velvety black head, ruby eyes and dagger-like bill; but it is the loon's poignant, eerie cry that haunts anyone who hears it. Nina Schoch, a research scientist, heads the Adirondack Cooperative Loon Program, a project jointly run by state and nonprofit private groups to protect and monitor the birds.

Self-taught furniture maker Jay Dawson (right) works out of his grandfather's old tavern in Lake Clear. His rustic clocks, chairs and tables have been featured in numerous publications and on national television. Left: A storefront in Upper Saranac Lake.

Schoch has monitored several loon families on this pond since 1998. It is the height of the autumn foliage. Russet maples and golden birches—along with the scudding clouds—are mirrored on the clear water as we launch our canoes. "I'm looking at how many loons are returning to the pond and the reproductive success of the birds," says Schoch. Among the threats facing the loons are motorboats and Jet Skis; wakes from those sources swamp nests on the water's edge. Another is lead from sinkers, which fish consume and the loons consequently ingest. Another major concern is mercury, an airborne pollutant that precipitates out of the atmosphere, concentrating in lakes and ponds, thus contaminating the food chain and making its way from bacteria to insects, fish and birds. "Because of their heavy fish diet, loons are far more susceptible to cumulative mercury poisoning than ducks or geese, who have a more herbivorous diet," says Schoch. Females deposit mercury in their eggs, passing on toxic amounts to newborn chicks. Until additional studies are conducted, Schoch and her colleagues cannot say definitively what the long-term consequences of this exposure may be.

The researchers capture loons at night by using recorded loon calls to lure the birds near a boat. They then blind them with a spotlight, scoop them up with a large net and cover their heads with a towel to calm them. The scientists take blood and feather samples for mercury testing and band the birds; the process requires 20 to 40 minutes. After that, on a weekly basis, Schoch paddles out on the pond to monitor the adults and determine how many chicks hatched and survived fledging.

We paddle in slowly. During the next couple of hours, adult loons take turns plunging underwater for 45 seconds or more in search of perch and crayfish to feed their chicks. Across the lake, the haunting wail of loons echoes eerily. An adult male emits a low tremolo, warning us and a chick that we are getting too close. When the youngster catches up to the parent, the two jabber in a series of hoots. "The chick is telling the father to stop talking and dive for some more fish," Schoch says.

As we paddle back to shore, I notice a bald eagle, one of the loons' predators, wheeling high overhead. Surely, I think, its presence will spook the birds, but they float placidly on the pond. Schoch surmises that the loons somehow recognize that the eagle is too young to pose a real threat.

A FEW DAYS LATER, a cold snap desposits a blanket of snow on nearby Whiteface Mountain. Within a week, the loons are gone. Soon, the brilliant autumn foliage will fall away, leaving only bare branches and the black lace of twigs stamped against dark winter skies. Like the Iroquois long ago, I will retreat to more temperate surroundings—in my case, an overheated Manhattan apartment—to await another Adirondack summer.

Artists (Paul Matthews, right) still draw inspiration from Keene Valley's unspoiled wilderness. In the 1800s, the area attracted landscape painters such as Winslow Homer and Thomas Cole.

All the News That's Fit to Sing

Two hundred fifty years before the information age, Bourbon Paris buzzed—and trilled—with rumors and gossip ~ BY ROBERT DARNTON

OF ALL THE BROMIDES now in circulation, the claim that we have recently entered the information age is probably the most misleading. Bombarded by cellphones, the Internet and television, we mistakenly imagine that our forebears inhabited an innocent world where the news did not travel far beyond the village pump.

The notion that the media somehow set our modern era apart is an understandable error, because we know relatively little about how information circulated in the past. To be sure, the Olympics perpetuate the memory of the Greek soldier who supposedly ran from Marathon to Athens, about 25 miles, in order to bring the news of the Athenian victory over the Persians in 490 B.C. Most of us could come up with plenty of other examples—message drums, smoke signals, Alpine horns, church bells, town criers, ship semaphore. But their exotic backwardness would only confirm our sense that we live in a fundamentally different environment, one of constant, instant access to information.

Every age is in fact an age of information. What sets our time apart is not so much the density of the data that we take in through our senses. It is the technology that does the transmitting. Thanks to satellites, we can find out instantly about events that occur on the other side of the world. It usually took five weeks, if the winds were right, for Benjamin Franklin, acting as the American envoy in Paris, to receive a letter sent from Philadelphia. But Franklin's Paris boomed and buzzed with news. He digested information as actively as any ambassador does today, and he manipulated it far more effectively than any of his successors—through bons mots in salons, hints dropped at court, learned papers delivered to the Academy of Sciences and pamphlets that he printed on his own presses.

Set to popular tunes, news of the day circulated across pre-newspaper France, moving one observer to comment: "Songs, satires, are raining down everywhere."

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Our obsession with the media today generally prevents us from appreciating their importance in the past, but it could have the opposite effect. Familiarity with the Internet could lead to new understanding of how networks of communication operated centuries ago. Paris circa 1750 provides a good example, because information flew about everywhere in the air.

At that time Paris had no newspapers. Three journals, the *Gazette de France*, the *Mercure* and the *Journal des*

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savants, covered territory demarcated by royal privileges: court ceremonies, belles-lettres and science. France did not have a daily newspaper until the *Journal de Paris*—which, like all printed matter, was heavily censored—appeared in 1777. Yet the French were passionately interested in news. Where did they get it?

Parisians tuned in to *nouvellistes,* or newsmongers, who came in two varieties: *nouvellistes de bouche*, who delivered information about current events through word of mouth, and *nouvellistes à la main*, who produced manuscript newssheets. The first kind gathered at nerve centers in the citywide system for transmitting oral messages: certain benches in the Tuileries and the Luxembourg Gardens, which attracted people taking strolls in the leafy areas off the main avenues; key spots along the banks of the Seine, especially at the Pont Neuf, where hawkers and vendors plied their trades; and above all, the enclosed garden inside the Palais-Royal, near the Louvre, which was a "privileged space"—that is, an enclave owned by the duc d'Orléans and generally exempt from raids by the police, despite a profusion of illegal booksellers, prostitutes, gamblers, adventurers and gossips.

At the north end of the garden stood the Tree of Cracow, a large chestnut that acted as a magnet for anyone in search of information. Its name may have derived from the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), when Parisians gathered under its branches to exchange the latest news about battles and foreign affairs. But the name also suggested rumormongering, as in *craquer*, a slang expression for spreading gossip.

The inherent inaccuracy of oral information led the nouvellistes to passionate debates. The crowd at the foot of the tree sifted through the information, rewarding the most convincing orator with its approval and shifting to those who announced the latest, hottest items. The reports then spread through the streets, accumulated in cafés and spilled over into epistolary networks that carried them throughout the kingdom. Ambassadors allegedly took this activity so seriously that they sent servants to the Tree of Cracow to gather information and also to plant it. They understood that public opinion was a force to be reckoned with, despite the theoretically absolute quality of the Bourbon monarchy.

The crowd at the foot of the tree gave its approval to the most convincing orator.

Under the Tree of Cracow, Parisians met to trade news. In this 1742 print, the figure of Truth pulls a rope which makes the tree go "crack" when a gossip lies.

ROBERT DARNTON is Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of History at Princeton University.

The manuscript newssheets (*nouvelles à la main*) traveled in different circuits, all of them illegal. The most notorious newssheet was produced in a salon run by Marie-Anne Legendre Doublet. Every day Mme. Doublet dispatched a servant to gather gossip from domestics in other distinguished households. We don't know the servant's name, but judging from a report on him in the police archives stored in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, he probably qualifies as the first reporter in the history of French journalism: he was "tall and fat, a full face, round wig, and a brown outfit. Every morning he goes from house to house asking, in the name of his mistress, 'What's new?'" When he returned, the servant wrote out what he had discovered in two registers, one for reliable information, the other for unconfirmed rumors. Every Saturday, members of the salon would read the entries and add whatever they could from their own sources. Then they would sit around a table and give themselves over to uninhibited gossip.

After each session, a copy of the register—probably an edited version of the more reliable one—was sent to Mme. Doublet's correspondents outside Paris. One of them, the comtesse d'Argental, had a lackey named Gillet, who organized another copying operation and supplied his subscribers for six livres a month (the equivalent of four days wages for a worker). His copyists soon set up shop on their own, so by 1750 Mme. Doublet's newssheet circulated everywhere in France. Some versions of it began to appear in print in 1777. By 1789 they stretched to 36 volumes and had become bestsellers in the underground book trade. What began as gossip in the servants' quarters and table talk in polite society had developed into a primitive news agency, with reporters, editors and distributors; the news seems to have reached a broad public after passing through three modes of communication—oral, manuscript and printed, all of them illegal.

Of the three, oral communication is, obviously, the most difficult for the his-

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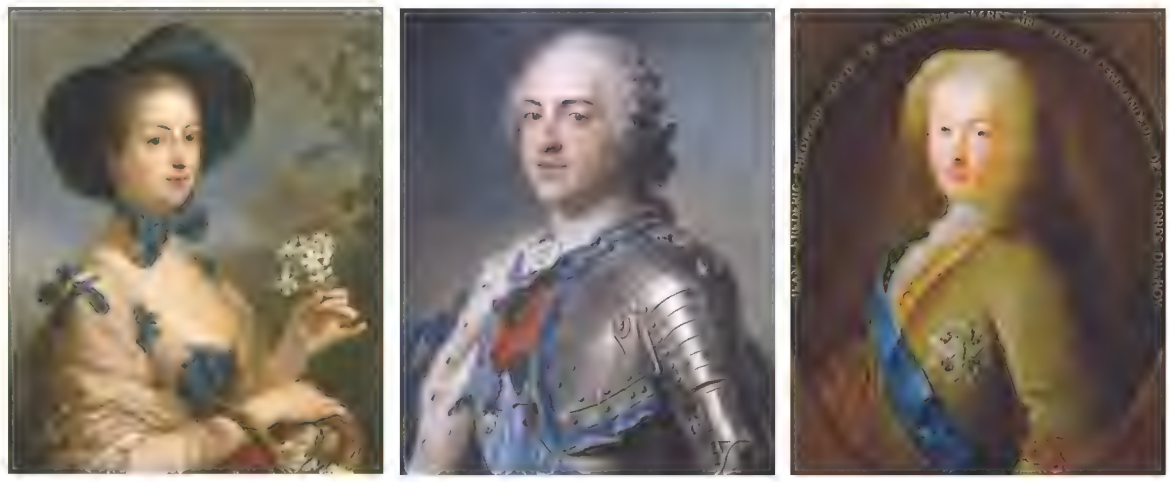
"At the Café de Foy someone said that the king had taken a beautiful mistress."



When a popular song blamed Madame de Pompadour (left), the mistress of Louis XV (center), for giving the king venereal disease, the comte de Maurepas (right), Louis's notoriously witty minister of the navy, was suspected of writing the verse and sacked.

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torian to reconstruct. Yet it also was the most important, as less than half the population could read, whereas everyone talked—talked all the time and about all sorts of subjects, including politics, which in principle was nobody's business but the king's. The most intensive talking took place in cafés. Fortunately, the police kept track of it, thanks to legions of spies—3,000, according to one estimate—who took down whatever they could pick up by eavesdropping.

The richest run of spy reports, also available in the police archives at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, covers 179 conversations in 29 Parisian cafés between 1726 and 1729. Many, such as the following, are written as dialogues:

"At the Café de Foy someone said that the king had taken a mistress, that she was named Gontaut, and that she was a beautiful woman, the niece of the duc de Noailles and the comtesse de Toulouse. Others said, 'If so, then there could be some big changes.' And another replied, 'True, a rumor is spreading, but I find it hard to believe, since the cardinal de Fleury is in charge. I don't think the king has any inclination in that direction, because he has always been kept away from women.' 'Nevertheless,' someone else said, 'it wouldn't be the greatest evil if he had a mistress.' 'Well, messieurs,' another added, 'it may not be a passing fancy, either, and a first love could raise some danger on the sexual side and could cause more harm than good. It would be far more desirable if he liked hunting better than that kind of thing.'"

OF COURSE, spies were not stenographers. They sometimes put their own spin on things in order to ingratiate themselves with their police employers, and they did not venture into the rougher taverns (cabarets), where workers held forth. Nonetheless, the spy reports are sufficiently extensive and detailed to convey at least the topics and the tone of café gossip. In reading them you can imagine yourself wandering through the streets of Paris and stopping off at key points to hear how ordinary people discussed the daily news 250 years ago.

The Café de Foy in the Palais-Royal is a good place to begin the tour. The talkers there favor political topics: the impending disgrace of the controller general of finances; intrigues behind the appointment of the new minister of war; the agitation over Jansenism (a popular variety of religious devotion condemned as a heresy by the pope in 1713); the attempts of the British to hold on to Gibraltar. Walk a block down to the Café de la Régence, and you will hear declamations against fortunes made by speculations on the stock of the East India Company. Turn right on the rue Saint Honoré, and the regulars

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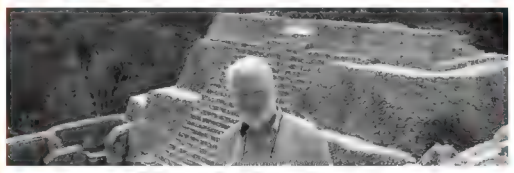

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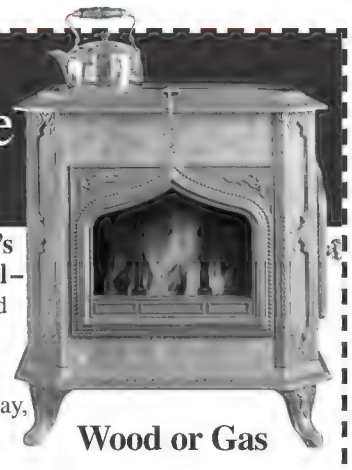

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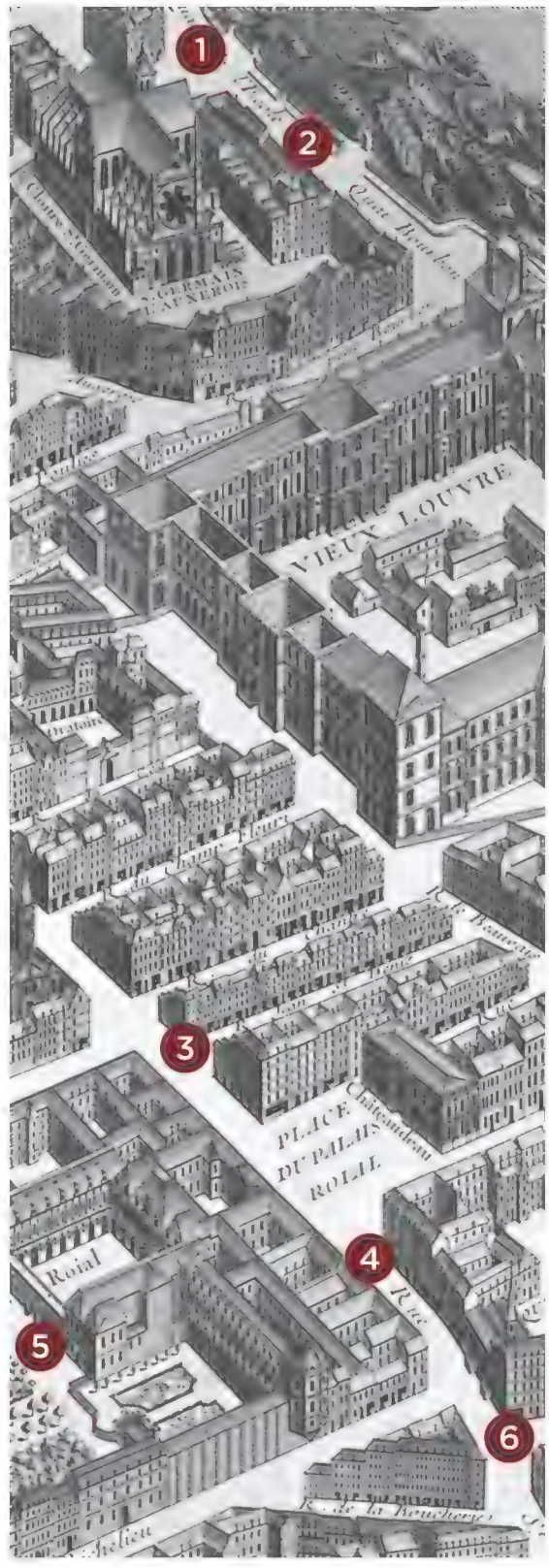

Reports by police spies provide a rich record of news exchanged in some of Paris' 380 cafés, including the Gradot (1), Poncelet (2), Grignon (3), Régence (4), Foy (5) and Dupuy (6), all within a block or so of the Louvre.

of the Café Dupuy are clucking their tongues about the flashy wealth displayed by those who surrounded the queen at her recent appearance at the opera: "a great many diamonds." Farther down the street, at the Café d'Elie, there is more indignation about the directors of the East India Company: "a band of robbers." Nearby, at the Café La Perelle, the talk turns to brawls that have broken out during illicit games of

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Turn left through the Place du Carousel behind the Tuileries Palace and follow the *quai* back to the Pont Neuf, which connects the Right and Left banks and functions as a great funnel of gossip. On the Right Bank side of the bridge, at the Café de Poncelet, the regulars interrupt their games of chess and checkers to discuss the exile of the curate of St. Sulpice, who had been punished for deploring the desperate state of the poor in an open letter to the king. "Some replied that he deserved it and that a prelate had no business getting mixed up with state affairs."

The walk could be continued in many directions, through miles and miles of cafés, 380 of them in all. Everywhere Parisians discussed current events, whether minor crimes or political intrigues or shifts in the balance of power in foreign relations. None of the information they exchanged could appear legally in print, yet it permeated everyday conversations at street level.

The news that resonated best in the oral circuits of communication came in the form of songs. All Parisians carried in their heads at least a dozen tunes, standard ditties like "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" ("Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre" in French). Wits regularly composed new verse to fit the old tunes—no great feat, as most melodies could accommodate simple, eight-syllable couplets. Any incident of any importance immediately found its way into a song, and rhymesters added verses as the event played itself out, so songs provided a running commentary on current affairs.

Most of them, like the gossip, have evaporated; but a great many have survived, because they often circulated in writing. When a wit heard or invented a new verse about the hottest topic of current gossip, he would scribble it on a piece of paper, which he could pluck from his pocket to impress the regulars at his favorite café—or trade for another recent verse by a rival café wit. I have found several such scraps in the archives of the Bastille. The police confiscated them while frisking new pris-

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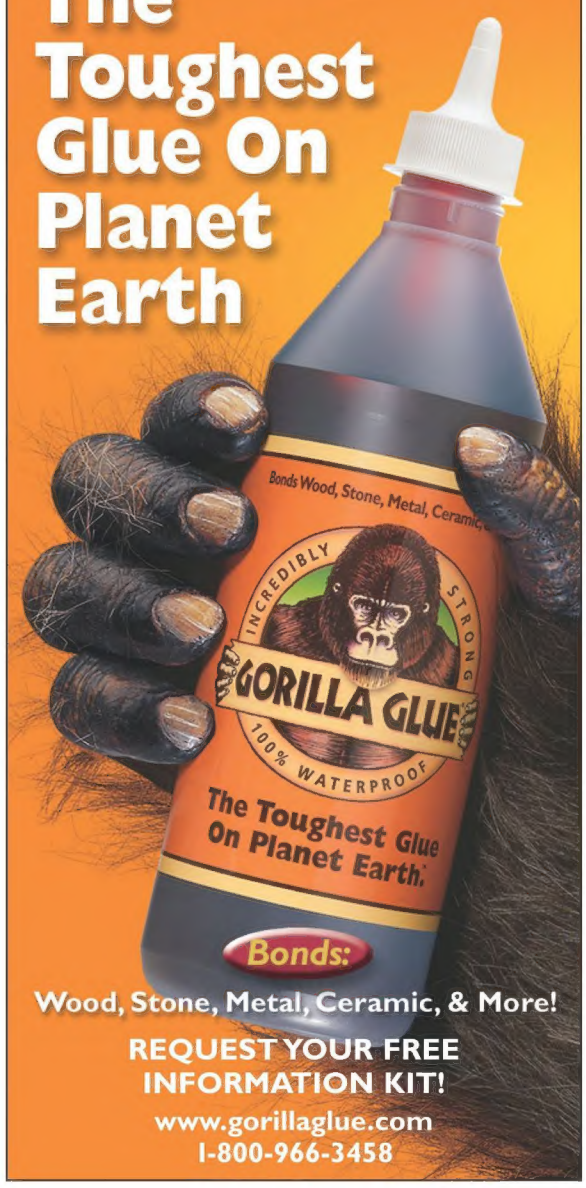

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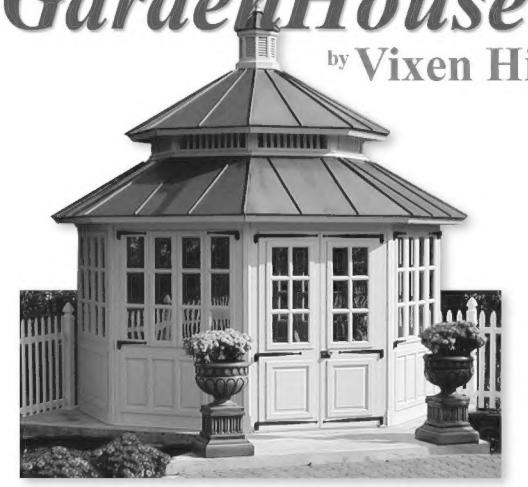

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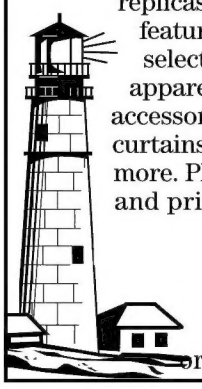

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oners, and they remain to this day in the prisoners' dossiers, eloquent testimony, however crumpled and torn, to the 18th-century oral networks.

Parisians were so obsessed with current songs that they collected them in scrapbooks known as *chansonniers*. A half-dozen chansonniers have survived in the manuscript collections of Parisian libraries. The songs appeared at a rate of one every two days in 1749, a period of heated political and diplomatic activity connected with the peace settlement at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). The actual production probably was much greater than what can be traced through the chansonniers, for as the marquis d'Argenson, a particularly acute observer, wrote in his diary at that time, "Songs, satires, are raining down everywhere."

The singing might strike us as ephemeral, but the French took it seriously in the 18th century. Although sovereignty remained vested exclusively in the person of the king, public opinion had a good deal of influence on the rise and fall of ministers. As one wag defined it, the French lived under "an absolute monarchy tempered by songs." In fact, contemporaries attributed the April 1749 fall from grace of Louis XV's minister of the navy, the comte de Maurepas—the most important political event of the year—not to any profound shift in the power structure, but to songs, one in particular:

Par vos façons nobles et franches,
Iris, vous enchantez nos coeurs.
Sur nos pas vous semez des fleurs.
Mais ce sont des fleurs blanches.

Translated literally, it seems to be nothing more than some frothy, gallant verse:

By your noble and free manner,
Iris, you enchant our hearts.
On our path you strew flowers.
But they are white flowers.

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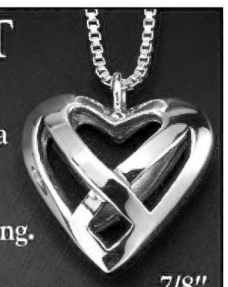

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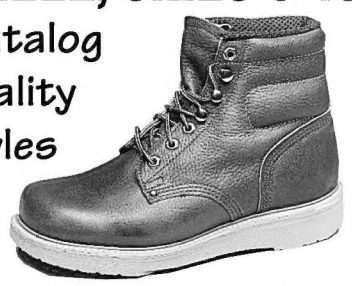

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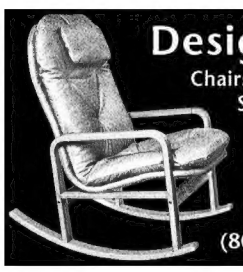

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venereal disease. Notorious for his biting verse, the comte de Maurepas had recently dined in private with Louis XV and his mistress Mme. de Pompadour. At the dinner, Pompadour had presented the king with some white hyacinths. She ("Iris") had actually given him VD, according to the poem, which was attributed to Maurepas and filled the air in Paris after being adapted to two popular tunes. That was the end of Maurepas's ministry.

In the following weeks, the police attempted to wipe out all offensive songs by imprisoning suspicious singers. They started by following the trail of a song about Louis XV that began as follows:

Monstre dont la noire furie . . .
(Monster, whose black fury . . .)

A police spy discovered that a handwritten copy of it had been in the possession of a medical student named François Bonis. Bonis was promptly shut up in the Bastille, where he revealed under interrogation that he had got it from a young priest, Jean Edouard. Edouard was then arrested. He confessed that he had gotten the song from another priest, Inguimbert de Montange, who was arrested . . . and so on through a chain of 14 arrests, involving students, lawyers, notaries, priests and clerks. The police never found the original author, but along the way they came upon the trail of five more songs, each more offensive than the other. The interrogations in the Bastille make it possible to follow their diffusion in minute detail and in the end to arrive at a conclusion: songs, like gossip, provided a running commentary about current events through every street of Paris.

What are the larger implications of this research? Not that the Bastille was brought down by singing, but rather that our obsession with the media suffers from present-mindedness. We need to know more about the history of communication, and the best way to begin is to work from an assumption: every age was an age of information, each in its own way.

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Shaggy Dog Story

One man's search for companionship, four legs preferred ~ BY MICHAEL FELDMAN

I DIDN'T HAVE MY FIRST DOG until I was 21 and married, too old for a dog and too young for a wife. We couldn't have major mammals when I was a kid because my family had had a collie before I was born and it came to an untimely end beneath an ice truck. This ban held even though the odds on a pet being crushed by an ice truck were greatly reduced and in fact nearly zero by the time I came along in all that postwar euphoria. The biggest thing we had was a guinea pig, Tony, which my older brother Arthur rescued from a research lab he was spending the summer in as a youth-inizer; you could cuddle Tony or make him ride on the special boxcar Arthur built for him on the Lionel line. He was great fun until we found him sprawled on the floor beneath his cage, having left what appeared to be a note scrawled in his sawdust; I think, like a prisoner released after too long in the slammer, he couldn't cope with life outside the pen. Other than Tony, there were just the ladybugs that came in the window and that I tried threading leashes to and the usual ill-advised assortment of painted turtles from vacations and goldfish from fairs, and a salamander Arthur found while fishing that quickly went AWOL, turning up months later mummified under his slipper in the closet. We couldn't prove time of death to determine whether Arthur had actually stepped on him or whether the closet just seemed to the salamander like a cozy place to die.

But a boy needs a dog. A dog helps train you. If you don't get a dog by a certain age, let's say 11, you will never know how to scratch anyone behind the ear to give the person pleasure or get accustomed to having your commands ignored, and you certainly will never know the feeling of unconditional love.

Perhaps I got too attached to my first dog, Rocky. I loved the way he had what looked like the outline of his head, ears up, in white on his gold chest, like an emblem. He was completely untrained, and I respected that. When we lived in the country, there was nothing he liked better than a good severed cow leg, which I found touching, even though I had to drive one farm down farther each morning to throw it in the culvert. I would say he could retrieve a cow leg from a two-mile radius; I'm sure with a little practice he could've brought home some better cuts as well. And he had good disappearing/reappearing skills. Back when wife 1 and I were running a day camp, Rocky once squeezed out of a cracked window in the Bel Air at a shopping mall on a Friday, ran off, and turned up at the first stop on my day-camper bus pickup route the following Monday. Apparently he had business that lost weekend, like the time years later in Madison when he took off on the Fourth of July and was spotted alternating between two females in heat in Middleton several miles away, despite the fact that he had been neutered. Now that's pluck.

When you live alone with a dog for a long time, differences seem to disappear, and it got so that the only difference, as far as I could tell, was that one of us enjoyed rolling on a carpet. Sure, he was high strung and a barker, but I've lived with a lot worse since. Rocky and I had ten wonderful years right up until he chased a rabbit across the path of a Blazer and, having lost a step or two by that age, failed to clear the grill. (The driver came out yelling, "Is he all right? It's only a light truck!")

Now, with Sugar, I can see that many of the traits I thought were uniquely Rocky's—turning the head askance, for example, to feign understanding, resting his head in my lap like I was the Buddha—are, in fact, universal dog traits. While Rocky was a mutt, Sugar has a pedigree, which puts him one up on me, but he doesn't flaunt it. He comes from hunting lines, his sire being Bodacious Black Gunstock; if I ever wanted to shoot ducks, he would be entirely in favor of it, since, so far, they have proved extremely difficult to swim out and nab unwounded. Nothing incites him like a duck, unless it's a Pekingese. Hates small dogs. In fact, he's not much of a dog lover in general, considering himself to be a furry Feldman and not a yellow Lab. I talk to Sugar, but I don't confide in him or depend on him emotionally as I did Rocky and the first wife, for that matter, but maybe that's just inevitable.

MICHAEL FELDMAN hosts Wisconsin Public Radio's "Whad'Ya Know?"

We welcome Last Page submissions, but due to the volume received, we cannot acknowledge receipt. Send to: Last Page, MRC 951-B, P.O. Box 37012, Washington, D.C. 20013-7012.

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